University of Alberta

# Visual Culture: Prints, Pamphlets and the Conjunction of 1524

by

Christine Jack ©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled Visual Culture: Prints, Pamphlets and the Conjunction of 1524 submitted by Christine Jack in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in History of Art and Design.

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***Abstract***

In 1496, two German astrologers, Johannes Stoeffler and Jacob Pflaum, published their prediction of a grand conjunction, expected for 1524. Early in the sixteenth century, this prediction became the source of a controversy that gripped the popular imagination. Rumors surrounding the conjunction brought speculation of a second universal deluge, and a fear that the Apocalypse was at hand.

Astrologers and theologians politicized the issue in small, illustrated pamphlets, reflecting religious tensions between Protestant and Catholic factions. These publications, while promoting the authors' religious motives, were intended to refute the belief that the celestial event was a sign of the approaching end of time. In some cases, however, the graphic, and often fatalistic illustrations may have appeared to confirm the public's worst fears of the conjunction. A selection of pamphlet illustrations, produced in Germany between 1519 and 1525, demonstrates the complex interplay between image, text, and popular belief.

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## *Chapter 1*
## *Introduction*

The 'signs in the heavens' indicated that 1524 was to be a year of major significance. The German astrologer Johannes Stoeffler was the first to predict ominous events: over twenty conjunctions could be expected in 1524, and of those, more than sixteen would take place in Pisces, the sign of the Fish. Stoeffler, together with Jacob Pflaum, published his findings in his ephemerides of 1499. By the early years of the sixteenth century, the celestial events predicted for 1524 had become common knowledge.[1] The importance of these findings was not lost on contemporary astronomers, astrologers and theologians. Indeed, the expected conjunctions elicited an unprecedented number of published predictions. It has been estimated that approximately sixty authors contributed nearly 160 treatises to the discussions.[2]

Scientific discovery and technological advancement has rendered belief in celestial influence as irrational and superstitious. One must guard against such judgements, however, for in the sixteenth century astrology was still an essential component in man's understanding of the cosmos, and the world in which he lived. In Genesis 1:14, God decreed, "Let there be lights in the firmament of the heavens to separate the day from the night; and let them be for signs and for seasons and for days and years;" thus, every earthly event, deemed to be God's divine will, was executed either directly, or through the influence of the heavens. Medieval belief held that earthly harmony could best be achieved by living in accordance with the natural rhythms God had imposed upon the terrestrial and celestial realms. When man's actions contradicted the divine order of the natural world, the result was earthly corruption, punishable by God.

Major temporal events and crises, including the birth of religions, survival of empires, deaths of leaders, and fortunes of individuals, were all believed to be

foretold, and affected, by the movements of the celestial bodies. This belief derived from the notion that the planets exerted influence upon the terrestrial world. The nature of this influence depended primarily upon the character of the planets involved, modified by the zodiacal signs in which the planets rested at the decisive moment, and by the relationships between the planets themselves. The positions of the planets in relation to the twelve zodiacal houses were of critical importance. Each house governed three related aspects of earthly life; the exact location of the planets within the houses indicated not only in which areas one could expect prosperity or misfortune, but the extent of the effect, as well. This impact was further affected by the position of the planets in relation to each other, measured by degrees. Each planet was believed to exert its influence for a certain number of degrees on the celestial equator: the Sun for 15°, the Moon for 12°, Saturn and Jupiter each for 9°, Mars for 8°, and Venus and Mercury each for 7°. A conjunction was said to occur when the radiance of two or more planets came into contact. For example, because Saturn and Jupiter each radiate for 4°30' in every direction, these planetary bodies may be as far as 9° apart on the celestial equator, yet still be in conjunction, altering the influence exerted by each planet. The conjunction was the most critical of planetary relationships, however, four other possible relationships were also of great importance. The most ominous of these was an opposition, which occurred when the planets were 180° apart. Planets in quartile, separated by 90°, also indicated misfortune, although to a lesser degree. The trigonal relationship, in which two planets were separated by 120°, indicated beneficial effects, as did planets in sextile, separated by 60°.

By calculating the placement of the planets at the moment of birth, the individual believed that certain events in his life could be predicted. Similarly, studying the movements of the celestial bodies, and conjunctions in particular, could foretell great earthly events. The most significant celestial phenomenon was the

grand conjunction, in which the two superior planets, Jupiter and Saturn, came into alignment. The theory of the grand conjunction, defined by the Arabic astrologers Al-Kindi and Albumasar, established this astral event as an essential measure of the historical process, arguing a close connection between the meeting of these two planets and great historical events. Grand conjunctions occurred only once every twenty years due to the slow movement of Saturn. For a period of 240 years, the grand conjunction would occur in only one of the four zodiacal triplicities, or trigons, each of which was comprised of the three zodiacal signs that shared one of the four elements, fire, earth, air, and water. The completion of this 240-year period was marked by a mutation, in which the grand conjunction passed from one triplicity to the next, beginning in the fiery trigon, and proceeding into the earthy, airy, and watery triplicities, respectively. A great mutation occurred after a period of 960 years, once the grand conjunction had moved through each of the triplicities, and the planets had returned to their original positions in Aries, in the fiery trigon. This complex cosmic system of 20-, 240-, and 960- year cycles provided three basic periods for determining historical epochs. The grand conjunction, as the rudimentary element of this system, was therefore closely regarded; as it was so intimately connected with the historical process, it held the greatest implications for temporal change.

Astronomy and astrology were not restricted to such immense calculations and predictions, nor were they accessible only to learned astrologers, mathematicians, and theologians. Rather, this interpretation of astronomical aspects, normally the domain of astrology, was an element common to all levels of culture, one component of a larger belief in a supernatural world that included magic, incantations, talismans, and mysterious healing powers of natural objects such as stones.[3] The primary method of prediction, astrology provided an essential tool for many aspects of daily life. One of the most common uses for astrological predictions was the individual

horoscope. The horoscope, based upon the position of the planets at the moment of birth, provided the individual with insight into the probable course of his life. The celestial sphere was divided into twelve houses of 30° each, beginning immediately below the eastern horizon. Each house governed one aspect of life, and was further subdivided into three facets of 10°. The first house, *Vita*, governed personality, physical appearance, and childhood; the second, *Lucrum*, governed material possessions and finances; the third, *Fratres*, indicated family relations, communication, and speech; the fourth, *Genitor*, influenced parents, additional childhood experience, and seclusion; the fifth, *Nati*, guided children, sexual relations, and creativity; the sixth house, *Valetudo*, indicated professions, coworkers, and health; the seventh, *Uxor*, governed marriage, partnerships, and friendships; the eighth, *Mors*, governed death, accidents, and mysticism; the ninth, *Pietas*, influenced study, intellectual pursuits, and travel; the tenth, *Regnum*, governed career choices, ambition, and achievements; the eleventh, *Benefacta*, guided ideals, causes, and societies; and the twelfth house, *Carcer*, governed limitations, sorrows, and illness.[4] The planets and their relationships directly affected these facets of life, and would indicate in which areas the individual could expect a success, misfortune, sincerity or treachery. Other aspects of astrology aiding the individual in conducting his earthly affairs included planetary associations with the parts of the body, and with the four bodily humors. These indicated strengths and weaknesses in health, and aided in the diagnosis and treatment of illness.

Considered a science, astronomy was taught in universities as a component of the Quadrivium, which also included the study of music, geometry, and mathematics. This elite status, however, did not exclude its sister science, astrology, from popular circles. Many astrological predictions relevant to the lives of the lower classes, such as weather forecasts and political predictions, were made available to the public through almanacs, calendars, and practicas, issued annually by educated astrologers.

These simplified reports did not include complex calculations, but did provide the public with annual predictions comprehensible to the uneducated.

Although the influence of the celestial realm upon the terrestrial was intimately involved in every aspect of human life, it was not accepted without question. Many debates considered the nature and validity of celestial influence, and its implications of determinism. The two primary authorities of astrology were the ancient scholars Aristotle and Ptolemy, whose works were introduced to European scholars through Arabic commentaries and translations. Although these authors are similar in many respects, (in fact, Aristotle provided the foundations that later authors expounded upon), fundamental differences in their theories provided a wealth of material used by medieval astrologers and theologians in their arguments.[5]

Aristotle presented the basis for heavenly influence in a series of arguments known in Latin as *De Coelo*. In this work he contrasted the motions of the celestial bodies with those of the four terrestrial elements, earth, air, fire, and water. He determined that the celestial bodies performed a constant, circular motion, whereas the movements of the earthly elements tended to be inconstant and rectilinear.[6] He concluded that the circular motion of the celestial bodies, with neither beginning nor end, indicated that they were eternal and incorruptible. Furthermore, Aristotle believed that this incorruptibility indicated that the celestial bodies were comprised of a divine substance, ether. Terrestrial bodies, on the other hand, were condemned to constant corruption and generation, as their motions were finite and irregular. Logically, therefore, the celestial bodies, divine and incorruptible, would exert influence upon the inferior bodies of the terrestrial world.

In a later work, translated in Latin as *De generatione et corruptione*, Aristotle discussed the means through which the heavenly bodies exerted their influence upon the terrestrial. He noted that the cycles of growth and decay on Earth coincided with the movements of the Sun, which he described as advancing and retreating from the

Earth.[7] He concluded that the Sun's proximity to the Earth exerted change upon the terrestrial bodies by affecting alterations within the elements which comprised all objects of the sublunar world.

Aristotle did not believe that other planets affected great change upon Earth, but a later treatise, known in the west as *De Mundo*, expanding his basic concept, included the remaining six celestial bodies. This treatise, mistakenly attributed to Aristotle, explained that God arranged the cosmos so that the celestial body nearest His own realm, on the outermost reaches of heaven, bathes in the glory of God with the greatest force, while the body farthest away, Earth, receives the weakest effects of His glory, rendering chaos on the Earth.[8] Thus, orderliness and perfection is regulated by the body's proximity to God. Furthermore, the text explains that the celestial bodies are able to exert influence upon the terrestrial realm because God has bestowed such power upon them, as part of His divine plan.

Ptolemy based his conceptions of celestial influence on Aristotle's theory. In his *Tetrabiblos*, Ptolemy noted that the circular movements of the Sun, and its relative distance from the Earth, affected change upon the terrestrial, but Ptolemy's findings differed in one major respect. Observation of the cycles of the Moon led Ptolemy to conclude that the lunar body exerted an equally powerful influence upon the Earth. Through analogy, he assumed that the other celestial bodies, due to their divine nature, must also exert influence. The effect of each planet was dependent upon a number of factors: its position in the celestial sphere; the distance between the planet and the Earth; and the ascendance and declination of the planets in relation to the Earth. Ptolemy believed that the effects of the planets could be predicted through careful calculation and analysis. He further believed that the greatest effects would result from the Moon; as it was the closest of the planets to the Earth, its effects would be the most felt.

Thus, it was not Aristotle, but Ptolemy, who provided the specific foundation of judicial astrology,[9] which proposed that the positions of the stars determined the fate of individuals. Ironically, Aristotle was credited with the development of astrological prediction based upon the movements and characteristics of the planets. Ptolemy was given due credit for his observations of the effects of the Sun and the Moon. This distinction generated intense debate between Aristotelian and Ptolemaic astrology. Those who followed Aristotle argued that planetary conjunctions produced the most profound changes upon Earth; those who followed Ptolemy argued in favor of lunar and solar eclipses. Aristotle's work, however, provided the core of university studies. His theories were widely read and commentated by such scholastics as Peter Lombard and Thomas Aquinas, in the thirteenth century. Aquinas undertook to write a treatise on the subject of celestial influence, derived from Aristotle's theories. He stated that, in many cases, the behavior of terrestrial objects depended on the nature of the dominant element: for example, the dominant element of a stone is earth; therefore, the stone will naturally be drawn down towards the center of the Earth.[10] When an action could not be accounted for by these means the answer was to be found in one of two types of supernatural causes: the influence of a spiritual substance, which included both angels and demons; or the influence exerted by celestial bodies. Spiritual substances, superior to the heavenly bodies, were independent of matter, and could exert their influence either through their own motion, or through another form. Celestial bodies exerted their power through their movements in the heavens.

The notion that the celestial realm influenced the terrestrial world was in itself a source of great debate. In 1277, the Bishop of Paris argued that the belief that the terrestrial was dependent upon the celestial for existence was against Christian dogma, implying an independence from God's will and power.[11] In the fourteenth century, John of Jandun modified this argument, stating that although the terrestrial

bodies were dependent upon celestial motion for survival, the celestial bodies were not capable of forcing the human being to perform an action. The argument against celestial influence was taken up most vehemently at the end of the fifteenth century by Pico della Mirandola. In his *Disputationes*, Pico condemned judicial astrology as contrary to religious teaching, and dangerous to men. He invoked the authority of Ptolemy to lend weight to his argument, reminding his contemporaries that Ptolemy was concerned not with predictions, but with the aspects of the Sun and Moon.

The debate counterposing astral determinism to free will and divine providence continued well into the sixteenth century. In the *Malleus maleficarum*, a highly influential book on the black arts first published in 1496, Heinrich Kramer and Jakob Sprenger provided support for astrological influences. In Part 1 Question 5 they state:

> The human understanding is governed by God through the mediation of an Angel. And those bodily actions, either exterior or interior, which are natural to man, are regulated by God through the mediation of the Angels and the celestial bodies. For Blessed Dionysius says that the celestial bodies are the causes of that which happens in this world; though he makes no implication of fatality.[12]

Kramer and Sprenger further argued that the planets could influence human action, but human will was subject to God alone. If man rejected the pious influences of God, however, his will would become overpowered by the base inclinations of the body, which were subject to the stars.

The argument also elicited comments from one of the most influential men of the period, Martin Luther. Luther, like Pico, found the notion of celestial influence to be offensive to God. He stated that one should not look to the stars as the cause of catastrophic events, but to God.[13] Luther argued that God, the creator of the universe, is the lone ruler of time and event; only He can determine the course of history, and only He has advance knowledge of man's actions. He has no need of the

celestial bodies to aid Him in His will, nor need He provide man with any warnings of events to come. The idea that God made use of the planets to affect change upon Earth was rejected by Luther.[14] He did, however, believe that Satan could have a direct, evil influence upon the actions of men, and did accept the possibility that certain extraordinary phenomena had divine meaning.

Luther's arguments against the influence of the heavenly bodies were rejected by his friend and fellow reformer, Philipp Melanchthon. Melanchthon argued that all sciences, in spite of corruption and alteration at the hands of man, were of divine origin, and thus legitimate; to deny the existence of astral influence was to deny the existence of divine providence.[15] He believed that the heavens did exert an influence upon man, sometimes moderately, at other times with a greater force, and he believed that this relation was supported by physical, and behavioral differences between regions. Melanchthon argued that the whole premise of celestial influence and judicial astrology was not, in fact, contradictory to Christian thought because every element of the universe, created by God, was subject to His will. The celestial bodies did not act independently from the divine, as they too were subject to God's divine plan.

The belief in astral influence was deeply rooted in medieval and renaissance culture, and in spite of the many heated debates, judicial astrology remained central to popular belief. Its position was, of course, facilitated by the technological advances of the printing press. Inexpensive publications, such as the annual practicas, almanacs and calendars, brought astrology to the public, and made available a variety of information pertaining to daily life, as well as predictions for the Church and State. The potential for this medium to incite anxiety and fear in the public was considerable, as is evidenced by the widespread panic elicited by the expected events of 1524.

The grand conjunction of Saturn, Jupiter, and Mars in the sign of Pisces expected for 1524 aroused unprecedented fear. Predictions for previous grand conjunctions coupled expectations of great historical change with hopes of the long-awaited emergence of the Last Emperor who would unite Christian forces in the battle against evil. The location of the grand conjunction of 1524 in a watery sign, however, brought about fears of a second universal deluge. Indeed, many believed that the end of the Christian world was foreshadowed by the celestial alignment, which marked not only the closure of the 240-year period in which the grand conjunction took place with the watery trigon, but also the final conjunction of the 960-year cycle, and the closure of the Great Year. Contrary to the doctrine of the Great Year, this great mutation would summon not the advent of a new historical epoch, but rather the end of historical time. The birth of Christ was believed to have occurred during the reign of the fiery triplicity; as this marked the beginning of Christian history, the watery triplicity was considered to forecast its end.

Stoeffler and Pflaum foresaw the celestial events of 1524 as early as 1496; the publication of their predictions in 1499 made the information common knowledge. However, the expected events did not attract a great deal of attention until 1519, after the knowledge had been in the public domain for two decades. In the following five years, an unprecedented number of pamphlets were issued concerning the effects that could be expected from the conjunction. The pamphlets themselves were not the source initially of the widespread panic surrounding the conjunction of 1524; in fact, they were issued in response to a mass hysteria that had resulted from rumor and oral communication.[16] The pamphlets were intended to pacify the public, calm anxiety and dispel the rumors of a second deluge by providing authoritative predictions of the influences expected from the conjunction. However, the actual effect of the pamphlets may have been quite contrary to this intention, due to the nature of their illustrations. This study will examine the function of the pamphlets within the

popular sphere, the tradition of astrological illustrations, and the contradictory relationship between the woodcut images and text in flood literature.

Low literacy rates and an established tradition of visual communication gave the printed woodcut great importance in the distribution of information, providing the essence of the textual message in terms that were familiar and comprehensible to the common man. The following study will argue that although the printed image was intended to reflect and support the information of the text, many pamphlet illustrations of the flood did not function in this manner. Frequently, the images contradicted the written predictions because the illustrations showed severe flooding and other earthly calamities, and thus provided not a refutation, but rather a graphic realization, of the fears already prevalent within the public sphere.

[1] Paola Zambelli, "Many Ends for the World. Luca Gaurico Instigator of the Debate in Italy and Germany," 'Astrologi Hallucinati': Stars and the End of the World in Luther's Time, ed. Paola Zambelli (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1986) 239.

[2]Dietrich Kurze, "Popular Astrologi and Prophecy in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: Johannes Lichtenberger," 'Astrologi Hallucinati' 177.

[3]Paolo Rossi, "Society, Culture and the Dissemination of Learning," Science, Culture, and Popular Belief in Renaissance Europe, eds. Stephen Pumfrey, Paolo Rossi and Maurice Slawinski (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 1991) 143.

[4] Wayne Shumaker, The Occult Sciences in the Renaissance: A Study in Intellectual Patterns (Berkley: University of California Press, 1972) 4.

[5] Edward Grant, "Medieval and Renaissance Scholastic Conceptions of the Influence of the Celestial Region on the Terrestrial," Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies 17 (1987): 1.

[6]Grant 1.

[7] John D. North, "Celestial Influence- the Major Premiss of Astrology," 'Astrologi Hallucinati' 45-46.

[8]North, 'Astrologi Hallucinati' 49.

[9]Grant, 2.

[10]Grant, 3.

[11]Grant, 16.

[12] Heinrich Kramer and Jakob Sprenger, Malleus maleficarum, trans. and introduction Reverend Montague Summers (London: Pushkin Press, 1928) 35.

[13]Paola Zambelli, "Introduction," 'Astrologi Hallucinati' 2.

[14]Zambelli, "Introduction," 'Astrologi Hallucinati' 2.

[15]Zambelli, "Introduction," 'Astrologi Hallucinati' 14.

[16]Helga Robinson Hammerstein, "The Battle of the Booklets: Prognostic Tradition and Proclamation of the Word in Early Sixteenth-Century Germany," 'Astrologi Hallucinati' 140.

## *Chapter 2*
## *Communication, Persuasion, and the Power of the Printed Word*

The development of the printing press in the second half of the fifteenth century had a profound impact on every facet of life; numerous studies have been devoted to the analysis of the revolution in print. The new technology both increased the availability of scholarly material, and instigated significant changes within the economic, commercial, and social sectors. Indeed, the printing press created an entirely new market, and with it, new possibilities for existing business- and craftsmen. Mills experienced an increased demand for paper products, artisans found additional avenues for their talents in the graphic arts, and merchants expanded both their product base and their clientèle with the sale of books, pamphlets, broadsheets, and printed images.

As production methods improved, independent printers rapidly established shops; by 1500 every major center in Europe boasted at least one workshop. The mechanical nature of the work placed printers within the traditions of artisans and craftsmen. However, their product was immediately recognized by the intellectual community as uniquely important for its potential in communication and political influence. Therefore, printers attained a higher status than other craftsmen.[1] A successful printer enjoyed prosperity and social influence; his shop became a major center for cultural activity and interchange, providing a meeting place for local intellectuals and international scholars to exchange information, news, and ideas.[2] In effect, the printer crossed the social boundaries to join the ranks of the socially elite.

A printing shop was able to run successfully with a minimum of four men: two compositors, and two pressmen. The compositors were responsible for determining the format and typeset of the forme, a slow and painstaking process. Compositors often required a full day to set both sides of the master forme; with more complicated works the process frequently extended into two days.[3] The

pressmen locked the completed forme into the press, and were able to run off as many as 1250 foliosheets in one day.[4] Larger shops, running two or more presses, employed additional, specialized workers for proof-reading, correcting, and compiling the completed foliosheets. Proof-reading and editing were usually performed by educated men whose presence within the shop produced a new kind of collaboration between workmen and scholars. Professors, clergymen, scientists and philosophers worked closely with compositors, engravers and pressmen to ensure the accuracy of the work in progress, thereby altering traditional divisions in labor and promoting a sense of cultural community previously unheard of.[5]

The press provided ample opportunity for entrepreneurs. For instance, many shops were initially owned and operated by one man, who composed the formes and ran the presses, occasionally with the help of an apprentice. These small-scale printers produced approximately one-fifth of the volume of that produced by medium sized shops,[6] working primarily with the popular media of pamphlets and broadsheets.[7] Frequently, these one-man shops were operated by *Formschneider*, men who had begun their careers as specialists in block cutting, or *Briefmaler*, specialists in manuscript illumination.[8] Trained as craftsmen, these entrepreneurs had a functional level of literacy, and thus relied upon proof-readers to ensure the accuracy of the printed text.

The demand for text and images combined in books and pamphlets also had an important impact on the artistic community. The increased need for woodcut illustrations moved the production of the woodcut from the monasteries to the secular community, creating a thriving enterprise for popular image production. Woodcuts also provided an additional source of income for artists, as they could be sold to printers in other cities and countries. Printers commissioned local artists to produce images for a variety of different types of publications. In many cases, these artists were unable to read, and thus could not produce the necessary images from first-hand

knowledge of the text. Therefore, the printer or correctors provided the artist with a preliminary drawing or a specific explanation of what was required in the image, a process that could lead to discrepancies between image and text.

The numbers of printers and specialists grew rapidly in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, due in large measure to the absence of the strict regulations guiding other professions. In the early decades of the press, it was difficult to identify the work of publishers with any existing guild; the work involved traditional craft such as the woodcut, new technologies such as the press itself, and included activities that belonged within the realms of the scholar and the educator. Increased trade and competition instigated many requests to town councils for the establishment of a printer's guild; however, these requests were repeatedly denied.[9] Nuremberg, for example, did not establish such guild regulations until 1746.

In spite of the proliferation of print shops, publication numbers fluctuated. Prior to 1480, an average of fewer than 40 books were produced in a single year in Germany.[10] Production continued at this slow rate until 1508, when the market experienced an increased demand for publications, a demand that continued well into the 1520's. Records show that in 1519, 111 new titles were put into circulation; by 1523 this number had increased significantly, to 498.[11] Pamphlet production experienced a similar boom. Between 1501 and 1530, an estimated 10,000 pamphlet editions were issued; each edition averaged roughly 1000 copies, resulting in an approximate number of ten million pamphlets circulated over the thirty-year period.[12] This substantial increase was in large measure due to the growth of the reform movement, which commissioned the majority of the publications released between 1521 and 1528.[13] Indeed, of the 498 new titles published in 1523, 418 addressed the theological issues raised by Luther and other reformers. Reformation polemic began to decrease in 1529, once the reform movement's initial needs had been met, and the sharp decline in publication numbers continued into the 1550's.

Although the schools, monasteries and libraries of the Catholic Church continued to provide printers with a steady market, their needs did not equal those of the reformers in the early 1520's, and many printers were forced to seek out other methods of support.

The publication boom of the first decades of the sixteenth century not only was important for the printing industry, but also provided the community with a wealth of information through an entirely new means of communication. The most popular forms of mass communication were the pamphlet and broadsheet, affordable to most members of the community. These offered an attractive combination of illustration and text, and differed only in length. Broadsheets combined text and image on a single sheet; longer texts were bound as pamphlets with a title page illustration, and, occasionally, additional images throughout the text. Prior to the sixteenth century, the majority of the price of a publication was the result of the high cost in paper products. The rapid expansion of the printing industry had brought a similar expansion in paper mills, resulting in a dramatic decrease in the cost of paper, and thus in the cost of books and other publications. Prices are difficult to ascertain. However, it has been estimated that in 1522, when a master mason earned an average of 28 pfennig a day, an illustrated broadsheet could be purchased for between four and eight pfennig.[14] Therefore, smaller forms of communication were affordable to a broad spectrum of the population, including those of more moderate means.

The availability of small publications increased in the later part of the fifteenth century, as they were often issued simultaneously in both Latin and the vernacular. This move towards vernacular publications provided the common man with news relevant to his daily life, such as wars, local festivities, political events, and weather forecasts. Social conflicts and natural disasters were often interpreted as divine omens; advanced warning of such catastrophes provided the opportunity for preparation, and repentance.

The rise of vernacular publications had other important implications for the community, specifically with regards to the modes of communication. Prior to the development and expansion of the print industry, information was received primarily through oral and visual means. Communal assemblies, whether within the tavern or the village square, had been the primary method of information exchange; the press altered this system dramatically by making information simultaneously available to numerous individuals. This development did not, however, dissolve older methods of communication, but rather added a new element. Indeed, popular publications incorporated visual and oral methods of communication to create new forms of information exchange.

Although precise literacy rates are difficult to ascertain, the ability to read the printed word was not widespread. At the end of the fifteenth century, literacy was a matter of social stratification, reserved primarily for the elite, and the clergy.[15] Nevertheless, the ability to read was becoming increasingly important among craftsmen and merchants.[16] Within the community, however, literacy remained the exception rather than the rule. In the early decades of the sixteenth century, an estimated ten to thirty percent of townsfolk could read; on a national level the average dropped to approximately five percent.[17]

The ability to read the printed word was not the only means by which one could attain the information made available through the print medium. Woodcut illustrations included in pamphlets and broadsheets served not only as advertisements and visual companions for the message in text, but also provided basic information for the illiterate. The efficacy of woodcuts in popular works was recognized in the early stages of the press. The woodcut was inexpensive to produce, and its formal simplicity lent itself readily to the print medium. Furthermore, the printed image and the printed text required similar methods of production; the blocks of both image and text could be locked into the press simultaneously, thereby reducing production time

and cost. An additional benefit of the woodcut was the strength of the medium; a single woodcut could produce as many as fifteen-hundred copies before the material became significantly worn,[18] presenting for the first time exactly duplicable images within the print industry. This technology had tremendous significance for publishing; for example, technical and scientific literature was greatly enhanced by the availability of standardized illustrations.[19]

Woodcuts also enhanced the popularity of pamphlets and broadsheets because they had been a central element in popular culture for many decades. Indeed, woodcuts had been closely tied to religious practices throughout the fifteenth century. Printed images of relics, saints, and other objects of devotion were especially popular among people of more modest means. The sale of indulgences took full advantage of the woodcut by including, for example, an image of Christ with the prayers to be recited in atonement. By the early sixteenth century, woodcut illustrations had expanded into secular representations, rendering numerous aspects of contemporary society in visual statements accessible to the literate and illiterate alike. In effect, the tradition of the popular woodcut utilized an alternate form of literacy- visual literacy- which was not restricted by class or education.

In many respects the image remained dependent upon the information provided in text of the pamphlet, as its essential meaning was to be derived from the printed message. The images were to act as visual aids to the public, but in order for the illiterate to receive the full content of the publication, they had to turn to those who could read the printed word. Often, information was transmitted from the pamphlet to the public by those who dealt in books, whether they were peddlers at the local markets, public officials, journeymen, or traveling preachers.[20] Most commonly, however, information was provided by local clergymen, city clerks, students, and those artisans who had achieved a degree of respect and authority within the community.[21] This oral transmission not only ensured that the original

message would be imparted to both the literate and illiterate, but also provided an atmosphere in which the issues at hand could be freely discussed. Indeed, discussion of contemporary events was a crucial aspect of community life, especially concerning the portentous events that commonly filled the popular publications. Prophecies and forewarnings were often couched in ambiguous terms; collective discussion might clarify those ambiguities, and shape group opinion about their relevance and importance to the community. Within such a familiar setting, however, discussions were as likely to be guided by the values and convictions of the community as by objectivity.[22]

Pamphlets and broadsheets incorporated traditional, familiar methods of communication, while creating a powerful new means of circulating information. The combination of the printed word, illustration and discussion made it possible for information to cross social and geographical barriers at a pace unequaled in history. This new medium's potential was recognized by political and religious leaders. Pamphlets and broadsheets were quickly employed for propagandistic purposes, especially during times of political, religious, and social distress.[23] The fears and concerns of the community were manipulated by those who wished to influence public opinion; political agendas were couched in terms of advice and recommendations for the betterment and security of society.

Among the most effective campaigns to employ the print medium was the Lutheran Reformation. Reformers circulated their theological concerns to a wide audience with unprecedented speed. Furthermore, reformers were very much aware of the power of pamphlets, and took full advantage of the opportunities they presented. Reform publications were issued primarily in the vernacular, often with the express request that the material be read aloud to one group, and passed on to another afterwards. Illustrations provided the audience with a visual counterpart of the message the publication contained; the information was amplified and given a

sense of immediacy by incorporating imagery that had previously become popular in secular prints, and adapting it to suit the message of the text.

In many examples of reformation polemic, however, the text provided only brief commentary, while the woodcut provided the essential information. In the pamphlet entitled *Passional Christi und Antichristi*, issued by Lucas Cranach in 1521, the images were the primary focus. The *Passional*, a small book illustrating scenes from the life of Christ or the saints, was a traditional item of personal devotion. In this instance, the medium has been adapted for the purposes of reform propaganda. Thirteen pairs of woodcuts demonstrate the contrasts between the simple, pious life of Christ, and the lavish, exuberant lifestyle of the Pope, whom Luther had identified with the Antichrist in the previous year. The message is made immediately clear through the images: the road to salvation lies not in the self-righteous, indulgent, sinful life as led by the Pope, but in the simple piety taught by Christ in the Gospels. The final pair of woodcuts (Figs. 1-2) demonstrate this theme forcefully: Christ, who has led his life in the true service of God, ascends into the heavenly kingdom, while the pope, who has led his life in the service of his own earthly pleasures, is cast into Hell, eternally damned for his sinful behavior. The content of the publication would have been accessible to both the literate and illiterate through the images alone; the text, added by the reformer Philipp Melanchthon, is merely included as a compliment, and is therefore brief and expository.

Catholic supporters responded to the religious campaign of the reformers, although they were not as quick to take up the print medium in their efforts. As a result, much of the popular Catholic publications date well into the 1520's. Occasionally, however, Catholic supporters issued a counterattack by adding contemporary commentary to older images, as is the case with an image illustrating a monk in a white cowl, accompanied by a devil on his shoulder, and a disciple (Fig. 3). The image, whose motif had the established connotation of the Devil whispering

into the ear of the Antichrist, first appeared in a prognostication by Johannes Lichtenberger in 1488.[24] In a 1492 edition, an explanatory note was later hand-written into the image, identifying the monk as Luther, his disciple as Melanchthon. This small addition had a wider reference within Catholic camps, as many were intent upon proving that Luther, in fact, was the Antichrist, whose arrival had been foretold in the very same publication that provided the image. In response to this new interpretation, Luther replied that "Lo! the Devil dwelleth not in his heart, where there is no place but for the Lord Jesus, but is plaguing him by sitting on his neck."[25] In this manner Luther was able to redirect the identification of the devil with the Catholic Church.

Religious and political agendas were also common in pamphlets distributing news of miraculous events and forewarnings of natural disasters. Indeed, in an age in which no earthly explanation could be found for such events as Siamese births, disease, and earthquakes, the answers were sought in the heavens, endowing these occurrences with divine import. As indications of God's displeasure, miraculous events were open to an abundance of interpretations. Furthermore, it was often possible that the true significance of the omen would not be immediately known to man; for this reason, new interpretations of events of years past were given equal consideration. Such is the case with an event of 1492, when a large meteor fell upon Ensisheim, a hamlet in Alsace. Sebastian Brant recounts the event in an illustrated broadsheet issued in 1492 (Fig. 4). A small woodcut at the head of the sheet illustrates a large object emerging from the clouds, its rays descending upon a village, identified as Ensisheim. In the text, provided in both Latin and German, Brant offers an explanation for the disastrous event: God has sent the celestial body in punishment for current state of German imperialist policies.[26]

A crucial factor in the success of pamphlets and broadsheets as propagandistic tools was the establishment of public confidence in the author's knowledge and

reliability.[27] To a certain degree, the appearance of any information in print lent credibility to the content of the publication. More often, however, the author supported his interpretations by claiming the support of judicial astrology, experience, and past prophecies. Judicial astrology provided an authority that was undisputed within the public sphere. Attacks and defenses of the practice remained primarily within the domain of the scholar, whereas the common man readily accepted celestial influence as divine will. Experience, although somewhat more vague and removed from the common man, was also called upon as reference to authority. The professional experience to which the astrologer refers would have been comparable to that of the shoemaker, who knew the precise moment at which a piece of leather would be perfectly treated, or the farmer, who knew exactly when his crops were ripe for harvest. Experience provided knowledge; through this knowledge the astrologer could ascertain the importance of celestial and natural events. The most unusual claim to authority was the redeployment of prior prophecies. Authoritative proof was sought in the discoveries of past astrologers; the success and survival of the prophecy within learned circles became, in itself, evidence of its accuracy. Prophecies tended to remain vague in their worldly implications, and, as a result, were open to a variety of interpretations, often crossing over decades.

The most powerful prognostications combined those by several authorities. Lichtenberger's predictions presented just such a case, combining Joachimist prophecies of worldly strife and resultant Christian victories, with judicial astrology applied to the celestial events expected in the final decades of the fifteenth century. Lichtenberger, who had copied much of his work from his contemporary, Paul von Middelburg, became such an authority himself; his prognostications were reissued numerous times in the early sixteenth century, and provided astrologers with ample information which they reinterpreted within their own context.

The appeal to such authorities provided the author of the prediction with an air of reliability, and increased the impact of his interpretations. Primarily, these popular publications were intended to forewarn the reader of the events that were expected to occur, and provide recommended courses of action. Often these became not only a method of communication, but a source of public panic which many critics believed was both unnecessary, and dangerous to public safety.[28] In the late fifteenth century some authorities exposed the inflammatory potential of popular publications, but for the most part, few efforts were made to control the material published. Town councilors, in fact, supported the variety of information the press made available for public consumption, and believed that in many cases the pamphlet and broadsheet provided reminders of Christian morals.[29] Some censorship laws were passed on local levels in Germany; the first was issued in 1478 in Cologne, in response to a small publication that questioned motions passed by the city council.[30] Efforts to suppress books that were deemed heretical and morally dangerous were also made by the papacy: by Sixtus IV in 1479, Innocent VIII in 1487, Alexander VI in 1501, and Leo X in both 1515 and 1520. However, these laws proved largely ineffectual. Publishers found methods in which laws could be circumvented, and administrations were lax in their enforcement. Most importantly, the public's desire for knowledge, augmented by these new means of circulation, proved to be far too powerful.

[1] Miriam Usher Chrisman, Lay Culture Learned Culture: Books and Social Change in Strasbourg 1480-1599 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982) 3. The change in the printer's social status was also influenced by his mastery of technology.

[2] Elizabeth Eisenstein, The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) 26.

[3]Chrisman 6.

[4]Chrisman 7.

[5]Eisenstein, Printing Revolution 23.

[6]Chrisman 10.

[7] Christiane Andersson, "Polemical Prints in Reformation Nuremberg," New Perspectives on the Art of Renaissance Nuremberg: Five Essays, ed. Jeffrey Chipps Smith (Austin: The Archer M. Huntington Art Gallery College of Fine Arts, University of Texas at Austin, 1985) 41.

[8] Keith Moxey, Peasants, Warriors and Wives: Popular Imagery in the Reformation (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989) 20.

[9]Andersson, New Perspectives 41.

[10]Chrisman 3.

[11] Robert Scribner, For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981) 2.

[12]Hans-Joachim Köhler, "The Flugschriften and their Importance in Religious Debate: A Quantitative Approach", 'Astrologi Hallucinati' 154.

[13]Chrisman 3.

[14]Moxey 23.

[15]Scribner, For the Sake of Simple Folk 2.

[16]In the early sixteenth century, literacy became increasingly required for merchants and craftsmen, although the degree of literacy was still limited and used primarily as a tool of trade rather than as a method of popular communication.

[17]Scribner, For the Sake of Simple Folk 2.

[18]Moxey 22.

[19]Eisenstein, Printing Revolution 21.

[20] Robert Scribner, Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany (London: Hambledon Press, 1987) 64.

[21]Köhler, 'Astrologi Hallucinati' 165.

[22]Köhler, 'Astrologi Hallucinati' 165.

[23]Rossi 144.

[24] Dietrich Kurze, "Prophecy and History: Lichtenberger's Forecasts of Events to Come (From the Fifteenth to the Twentieth Century)," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 21 (1958): 71.

[25]Kurze, "Prophecy and History" 71.

[26]Andersson, New Perspectives 42.

[27]Andersson, New Perspectives 44.

[28]Hammerstein 131.

[29]Andersson, New Perspectives 42.

[30]Rossi 150.

*Chapter 3*
*The Conjunction of 1524: Its Impact, and Implications*

Popular pamphlets issued within the public sphere in the sixteenth century provided interpretations of a variety of current events, among them, the celestial movements; this information was vital and relevant not only to the individual's profession or health, but also to his community, and his nation as a whole. In an age guided by the tenets set forth by the Bible, troubled times intimated not merely the sins of man, but the state of the Christian world. During social, political, and religious unrest, signs were sought to give some tangible meaning to the events, and some indication of what the turmoil might entail for the future of the Christian empire. The heavens offered a powerful source of these answers; as instruments of God's divine will, they became celestial agents of change, indicators of events past, present, and future.

Temporal incidents of a vast variety could be foreseen in the heavens; among the most important were those that offered an indication of the emergence of the Antichrist, and second coming of Christ. These two events, intimately tied with the coming of the Millennium and Last Judgement, were essential to Christian belief. In the Last Days the final battles would ensue between the forces of good and evil. Christ, victorious, would cast Satan into a pit for one thousand years, and rule the Millennium in peace until all souls were called for Final Judgement. Therefore, prior warning of this event would enable Christians to prepare themselves for Judgement, atone for their sins, and be admitted into the Heavenly Jerusalem.

Scripture provided the primary source of the dating of these events. An interpretation of the Book of Daniel proposed a division of four realms or periods for the history of the world, according to the vision of the colossus with feet of clay. The fourth period, which corresponded to the base element clay, was to be the last of temporal history. Initiated with the Incarnation, this final period would draw to an

end in a state of corruption and sin. At the close of this era, destitute of faith, the Antichrist would make his appearance upon Earth, and engage in his final battle with Christ. Following Christ's victory, a new, eternal realm would be established, ruled by the Lord in the Heavenly Jerusalem.

Another powerful interpretation of the history of the world, put forth by Augustine and Pope Gregory the Great, was derived from Genesis. The six days in which God created the celestial and temporal realms were believed to correspond to both the stages of a man's life, and the periods of world history. Although some authors on this subject had shortened the number to five, this final day of creation was equated with the final age of a man's life, in which his physical and mental abilities became weak and ineffective, and death rapidly approached. It was assumed that similar characteristics would become evident in the Last Days of the world, when secular affairs, political leaders, and religious institutions would show signs of depravity and impotence. At this time, when humanity was at its weakest, the Antichrist would emerge into the world of men. Pope Gregory I offered additional support for this interpretation in his commentaries on the Book of Job. He believed that chapters forty and forty-one, which discussed Leviathan, were especially applicable to the arrival of the Antichrist. The verse "Want shall go before his face" was interpreted as an indication that at the time of the Antichrist's appearance the world would be bereft of miracles, of faith, and of virtue.[1] Gregory did offer some hope for those in his own time, indicating that this terrible event could be postponed by returning to the virtuous ways of life, as led by the Church fathers. The final outcome could not be prevented, however, as the last day of world history had begun, inaugurated with the birth of Christ. Again, He would be victorious over the Antichrist, and usher in the dawn of the seventh day, which would last for eternity in the Heavenly Jerusalem.

Like the four eras of Daniel, the interpretation of the six days of creation offered some means by which past and present could be understood within the notion of Christian history. Within a narrower scope, the passage of time and events were more easily observed and interpreted by the movements of the heavens, specifically with respect to the conjunctions of Jupiter and Saturn. As noted, these two planets came into alignment only every twenty years, and for a duration of 240 years, these occurred within one of the four zodiacal trigons. Upon the completion of this period, the alignment moved into the next trigon, an event known as a mutation; a great mutation occurred after a period of 960 years, once the alignments had moved through each of the four trigons and returned to their original position in Aries, one of the houses of the fiery triplicity.

Al-Kindi, the Arab astrologer and teacher of Albumasar, wrote that the potency of the conjunction affecting religious and secular affairs was dependent upon the frequency in which those planets came into alignment. Due to the rarity of the alignment of Jupiter and Saturn, grand conjunctions were considered to indicate the most significant historical events, the more so upon the completion of the 960-year cycle. The character of these events was influenced by the zodiacal signs in which the conjunction occurred, and the relation of the planets to each other. Saturn, the most foreboding of the planets, was believed to indicate grave afflictions in the secular realm; when this planet was in conjunction with Jupiter, the ruler of religion, the Church, too, would suffer misfortune.

This celestial system received great support from scholars such as the thirteenth-century theologian, Peter of Abano, who proposed a theory of world history that incorporated the influence of the planets. Abano divided history into a great week of seven eras, further subdivided into ages ruled by each of the seven planets, and the conjunctions of Jupiter and Saturn.[2] Within this system he found celestial evidence for many of the great events of history; among these, he calculated that

Noah's Flood had occurred during a grand conjunction in Pisces, under the reign of Mars. This notion was disputed in the fifteenth century by Pico della Mirandola, who claimed that the Flood was in fact caused by a grand conjunction in the fiery triplicity 159 years prior to the event; furthermore, the reign of the fiery trigon continued for an additional 120 years after the calamitous event. In Pico's opinion, it was, therefore, impossible for the superior planets to have been in conjunction in a watery house at the time of the Flood. However, the grand conjunction of 1524 was believed to reflect Abano's calculation of the heavenly convergence, a notion first published by Stoeffler and Pflaum in their ephemerides. These two astrologers contradicted Abano in one respect: they calculated the Flood of Noah as having taken place in the watery sign of Aquarius. Nevertheless, they predicted that sixteen of the twenty conjunctions to occur in 1524 would take place in Pisces, also a watery sign, and these would mirror the planetary positions during the Universal Flood. This prediction incited a great deal of speculation over what the year 1524 might entail for the world; indeed, many believed it indicated a second universal flood, and the end of the temporal world. Further support was found in study of the origins of the Christian faith. At the time of Christ's birth and the growth of the Christian religion, the superior planets converged within the fiery trigon. As this triplicity marked the birth of the Christian faith, it was considered that the watery triplicity, which preceded its fiery counterpart, would mark its end.

Stoeffler and Pflaum's ephemerides, reissued several times between 1504 and 1522, seemingly provided the source for the controversy that ensued in the early years of the sixteenth century.[3] They did predict that the conjunction would instigate a great many changes in every part of the world, but did not include any indication of a second universal deluge. This detail would explain why there was no immediate panic concerning such a calamity, yet by 1517 the belief had become common among the population. By focusing on the influence of Pisces and the similarities of the

celestial positions with those during Noah's Flood, oral tradition was most likely responsible for the embellishment and resulting panic that gripped the public.[4] In response to the widespread fear of a second deluge, nearly sixty authors addressed the issue. The debate reached its high point in 1523 and 1524; fifty-one pamphlets were issued over the course of 1523, and another sixteen by the end of February, 1524.[5] The authors wrote with the intention of dispelling the belief that a universal flood was imminent. In its place, they offered their own interpretations, often with political agendas, and often somewhat vague in their implications.

One factor strongly influencing the interpretations offered by these pamphlets was religious affiliation.[6] By the time the first pamphlets were published in 1519, Luther's conflict with the Roman Church had become common knowledge; indeed, Luther's supporters, both from within and without clerical circles, were rapidly increasing, and many had in fact converted to Luther's teachings. It is difficult, however, if not at times impossible, to provide a clear distinction between Lutheran and Catholic pamphlets. In many cases, the authors were covert in their religious loyalties, veiling their predictions in ambiguous terms. Furthermore, many authors were primarily concerned with their rivalry with other astrologers, using the pamphlet as a medium through which they could undermine and ridicule their opponents. In spite of these complications, it is possible to identify the general approach taken by those within the Protestant and Catholic camps. Catholic astrologers primarily offered consolatory predictions. In these, catastrophes were minimized, and restricted geographically. Repentance was still strongly urged, for even though the celestial signs did not indicate a universal deluge, these were indicative of God's displeasure, and hence man's salvation was at stake.

Protestant authors were more severe in their approach. Although they did not support the belief that 1524 would witness a second universal flood, their interpretations were grave, and entailed a great many calamities for the Christian

world. They too asserted that God's displeasure was indicated by the conjunction; the cause of His displeasure, however, was to be found in Rome. The Pope, viewed as the Antichrist, had defiled the Church, and brought moral depravity to the kingdom of God on Earth. They asserted that although only God may know the future of humankind, the only means of repentance and salvation was through a return to the Word, and the true nature of the Christian faith as taught by Luther. The division of predictions into Catholic and Protestant views was not lost on the public. Indeed, the Spanish theologian Pedro Cirvelo commented that from the many predictions and recommendations, three primary views could be distinguished: that of the Germans, who predicted an excess of rainfall and flooding; that of the Italians, who greatly reduced the effects of the conjunction; and lastly, that of astrologers who prescribed to Ptolemaic astrology and focused upon an eclipse that was to occur on August 25, 1523.

The structure of the pamphlets, regardless of the author's religious affiliation, followed the traditional format of the astrological practica.[7] In the first part, evidence was presented to the reader in the form of prior prophecies and astrological predictions. In the second section, the findings of these historical authorities were applied to the current situation; relevant facts were presented to support the author's interpretations in an effort to convince the audience of the verity of the predictions offered. This crucial part of the publication held great implications for both the secular and religious realms, and it was here that the author could hope to have his greatest influence on public opinion.

In many instances, older practicas were reissued with the belief that they could provide authoritative insight into current events. As has been noted in the previous chapter, Johannes Lichtenberger's *Pronosticatio* of 1488 enjoyed renewed popularity in the sixteenth century; it was reprinted in Italy at least nine times between 1500 and 1525, and, although not reprinted in Germany, it was widely read

and quoted.[8] Lichtenberger's tract was concerned with the 1484 conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in Scorpio, influenced by Mars. His prediction, supported with evidence taken from Joachimite and Sibylline prophecies, ancient astrologers, and the writings of the Church fathers, asserted that a false prophet would emerge in the coming years. This man, educated and resourceful, would lead men astray from the true faith with false miracles and guileful words. He, in turn, would be followed by the *antichristus mixtus*, another false prophet, but their efforts would be defeated by an angelic pope, who would be succeeded by three equally pious men.[9] Within the context of the emerging reformation, this prediction provided a highly effective argument for both Protestant and Catholic supporters: each could declare with certainty that this false prophet stood within the walls of their adversary's camp. Lichtenberger's prediction, seemingly fulfilled within the early sixteenth century, thus provided astrologers with a highly effective source for their own predictions. Indeed, many authors drew examples from Lichtenberger in their discussion of the conjunction of 1524.

Another treatise that received a great deal of attention as the dreaded year approached was Joseph Grünpeck's *Speculum*,[10] published in both Latin and German in 1508. Grünpeck's work, dedicated to the Estates of the Empire, and, in the Latin edition only, to the Cardinal legate Bernhardinus, urges the continuation of efforts towards Empire reform, in spite of the defeat of their late leader, Berthold von Henneberg. He suggests that the current unrest within the Empire may be viewed as divine punishment, and that future unrest may be avoided if the Emperor and the Estates worked together for the good of the public. Furthermore, he urges political and religious leaders to pay heed to the signs in the heavens; any indifference to these signs would result in further calamities and turmoil, which would begin within the Church. In support of his prediction, he draws from Lichtenberger the Joachimite prophecy of the holy preacher, whose appearance was evidence of the rampant

depravity of mankind. The holy preacher would be a pious man, concerned with the world's disregard of the Word and of the state of God's flock on Earth.

Although Grünpeck's treatise does not address any specific conjunction or planetary event, his *Speculum* was reissued numerous times between 1515 and 1525 by anonymous authors. These anonymous editions are in large part a reworking of the essential elements of Grünpeck's original; their purpose was to encourage a campaign of reform, in order to avert the disasters foreseen in the stars.[11] Following a discussion of prophecies and past conjunctions presented in Grünpeck's *Speculum*, predictions are offered for the years 1516 to 1524. Both 1522 and 1524 are given additional emphasis: in these years, one could expect famine, disease, revolts and treason such as had never been seen. This calamitous state would continue until 1530, when a new era of peace would emerge. No specific reference is made to the prediction of a flood for 1524, but the warnings and predictions made within these anonymous pamphlets were taken with the utmost seriousness, as they were considered relevant within the context of the events foreseen for 1524.

The first author to address the subject of the expected conjunction was Albertus Pighius, or Pigghe, of Kampen, Holland.[12] In a treatise of 1519, dedicated to his colleague, Agostino Nifo, Pigghe diminished the influence of conjunctions in favor of the lunar and solar eclipse. Considering the controversy surrounding the celestial events expected for 1524, he chastises astrologers for their emphasis upon the conjunction and their neglect of the lunar eclipse that was to occur in 1523. He asserts that the effects proposed for the conjunction of 1524 would be greatly minimized due to the differing natures of the planets; however, if the conjunction was to have any great effect, it would be a result of the eclipse of the preceding year.

Nifo responds to Pigghe's work in his treatise *De falsa dilvvii prognosticatione*,[13] published in December of 1519. This treatise, set forth in three books, was the first publication concerned solely with the events of 1524. In this

work, Nifo admits that there were many sound arguments in support of a universal flood, but argues that even if the planetary positions did indeed reflect those of Noah's Flood, the effects would not be immediately felt, as the conjunction had preceded the Flood by more than a century. In spite of the evidence which would support the belief in a second deluge, Nifo rejects it on a number of counts. First, he reminds the reader of the promise of God, symbolized by the rainbow, that a flood such as that in Noah's day would never again be seen on Earth. Second, he argues that even if a universal deluge were to occur, it could not be foreseen in the stars, as it was a supernatural, rather than a natural event. Earthly events such as disease, famine, and localized floods were naturally possible, and thus influenced by the celestial realm; supernatural events, however, were free from planetary influence as they were not naturally possible, and could only be produced by God's divine power. Nifo does predict that the conjunction, in combination with an estimated 153 eclipses calculated for the years 1523-24, will cause moderate flooding and some stormy weather in 1524, but Venus will counteract the maleficent influences and reduce the severity of the effects.

The arguments presented by Pigghe and Nifo are repeated in the work of Georg Tannstetter, a professor of mathematics and medicine at the University of Vienna. In his *In gratia serenissimi ac potetissimi principis & dni...*,[14] dedicated to the Archduke Ferdinand in March of 1523, Tannstetter states that although the issue had been adequately addressed by both Pigghe and Nifo, he feels obliged to comment upon the rumors concerning the calamitous effects expected from the conjunction of 1524. Tannstetter notes that as a result of the growing rumors, men were liquidating their assets, moving their families to mountaintops, and refraining from new endeavors; his intention in the pamphlet is to dispel their fears, and encourage them to continue with their daily activities.

In addition to the predictions offered by Pigghe and Nifo, Tannstetter presents further evidence by listing a series of similar conjunctions in Pisces in which no flood occurred. He agrees with his colleagues that flooding could be expected in some areas, but this would largely be the result of the eclipse expected in 1523. The effects would be increased by the conjunction in 1524, as both will occur in nearly the same degree of Pisces, but Tannstetter consoles his readers by explaining that the presence of Jupiter and Venus would counter the effects of the other planets. In addition to local floods, Tannstetter predicts turmoil within political institutions, and an emergence of sects, panderers and heretics, although he states that the latter will be quickly defeated as their ruler, Mercury, exerts the least force. Tannstetter concludes his prediction by stating that the effects of the celestial events expected in 1523 and 1524 would last until 1540, after which the world would witness even greater calamities as a result of a solar eclipse in Aries, combined with a conjunction in Scorpio in 1543 and four eclipses in 1544. He closes his treatise with a reminder of God's promise in the form of the rainbow, which proved that the celestial events at hand would not bring about a second flood.

Luca Gaurico, the court astrologer of the Gonzaga family in Mantua, had gained notariety for his popular astrological predictions, circulated in Italy and Germany, in the early years of the sixteenth century.[15] In an anonymous practica published as early as 1501 he begins to include warnings concerning the events of 1524 .[16] In 1522, he fully expounds upon his earlier predictions in his signed *Prognosticon ab incarnatione Christi anno MDII usque ad annum MDXXXV valiturum*,[17] dedicated to Marchese Francesco Gonzaga. Gaurico offers predictions for a period covering nearly thirty-five years, a popular format for many astrologers. This ambiguity renders the treatise difficult to decipher in many ways, yet two dominant aspects of the work become clear: the emphasis upon natural disasters which could be expected during this time-span, and the imposing threat of a future

heretic who would seduce many followers with lies and false miracles. These are especially evident in the treatment of the years 1512, and 1522-24.

Gaurico predicts many calamities for 1512 to result from a comet that had appeared in 1511. This celestial apparition would cause earthquakes in the following years, and a flood similar to that which he believed had been predicted by Stoeffler and Pflaum in 1499.[18] In addition, in September of 1512 the seven heavenly bodies would converge in *Cauda Draconis*, followed by a solar and lunar eclipse, which will bring great winds, inundations, and widespread death and destruction to Earth. In light of these findings, Gaurico urges his readers to seek proper shelter, preferably within the mountains, for the duration of September 1512; those who did not heed his warning, he argues, would not likely survive. Gaurico asserts that the temporal impact was to be so severe that even the Infidels would convert to Christianity in the hope of salvation.

Similar events were predicted in response to the 1524 conjunction. However, Gaurico proclaims that the effects would first be felt in 1522. Again, the convergence of the planets would occur within the *Cauda Draconis*, and, as in 1512, immense calamities such as earthquakes and floods could be expected. In this instance, he urges the reader to take extra precaution and make provisions for a full forty days, although the flood would only last for the duration of one month. Interestingly, in 1524 Gaurico retracts his earlier warnings, offering in their place a more consolatory prediction within the lines of Nifo and his colleagues. He adamantly denies that the published treatise bearing his name came from his pen, insisting that it was the devious work of a charlatan and forger, published in Italian because the fellow did not know Latin.[19]

Johann Virdung von Haßfurt, a professor of astrology at the University of Heidelberg, criticizes Gaurico's predictions for 1512, which at that time had been circulated in an additional pamphlet. Virdung believes that the pamphlet was issued

in order to incite panic among both the lower classes and political leaders,[20] and recommends that severe punishment be taken upon the author. In response to the apocalyptic mood prevalent in the early years of the sixteenth century, Virdung published *Practica von dem Entcrist*[21] in 1512. In this work he comments upon the various interpretations concerning the emergence of the Antichrist, drawing upon Joachimist and Sibylline prophecies, Methodius, and astrology. Various dates had been assigned to the dreadful event, including 1503, 1528, and 1531; other interpretations asserted that Gog, associated with the Turkish forces by contemporaries, was born in 1501 and would make himself known in 1517. Virdung attempts to pacify his readers by predicting the Antichrist's appearance not within his own time, but at some point during the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries.

In his treatments of the conjunctions of 1524, he continues in his efforts to reduce public fear and anxiety. He briefly addresses the subject in a discussion on celestial apparitions in 1520; in a *Practica Teutsch*[22] of 1521, he addresses the topic in further detail. He agrees with his fellow astrologers in the prediction that there will be moderate flooding, but restricts their occurrence to remote areas that would be less affected. Virdung warns that excessive rain and floods could be expected as early as 1523, destroying crops, villages, and ships. He further advises his readers that the effects of the conjunction would last until 1563, although not all effects would begin immediately, nor would they all endure until his proposed date. Indeed, some influences of the alignment may not become evident until as late as 1556. Virdung does attempt to provide his readers with hope, however, as God's promise of the rainbow assures him that the calamities brought by the planetary convergence will not be widespread, nor universal.

Doctor Johannes Copp, who issued a *Practica Deutsch* annually between 1521 and 1523, also invokes the promise of the rainbow in order to pacify his readers. His interpretations of the celestial events, however, are somewhat more grave than

those offered by Virdung. Copp asserts that the combined influences of the eclipse in 1523 and the conjunction of 1524 would produce snow and rain, thunder and lightning, so severe that the lives of those on islands and in valleys would be in jeopardy. Furthermore, the heavenly configurations indicated that unprecedented war and destruction of humankind would ensue; turmoil within the lower classes would lead to rebellions and battles, placing the state of the Christian world in grave danger. Copp's intentions become clear in his conclusions. The destruction, although not universal, would be extensive. Furthermore, the full influence of the heavenly convergence should not be expected within the following two years. Only God could truly predict when the calamities might ensue. It was urgent, therefore, that the Christian empire repent and mend its sinful ways, in order that the evils to come may be alleviated. Copp believed in the Lutheran reform movement; in this work, he implies not only that the Church of Rome had brought mankind into dire straits, but also that God's grace could still be achieved through the reform of the Church, as proposed by Luther.

Doctor Alexander Seitz von Marbach presented a similar argument in his *Warnung des Sundfluss*,[23] published anonymously in 1520 in French and German. Like Copp, Seitz had converted to Protestantism, and was sympathetic towards the plight of the lower classes. Indeed, his publication concerning the conjunction was presented at the Diet of Worms to the Emperor, electors, councilors and prelates in an effort to impress upon them the dire need for reform within the Church, and official regulations governing agriculture, a primary means of employment for the peasant class.

Johann Carion, a court astrologer to the Elector of Brandenburg, was also guided by his Lutheran sympathies in his predictions for 1524. Although officially Catholic, his letters to Philipp Melanchthon indicate that he had secretly converted to the reform movement.[24] Carion was less gentle in his predictions, which he

presented in his *Prognosticatio und Erklerung der grossen Wesserung*,[25] first published in 1521, and followed by three more editions in 1522. In this treatise, he reminds his reader of the flood of Rome in the eighth century, citing that the event was followed by an invasion of dragons, and a horrific plague that claimed more than eighty lives, including that of a pope. Carion does not support the belief that the end of the world would result from the conjunction of 1524; however, he asserts that severe flooding would occur, and provides a date for his audience: July 15, 1525. The calamities brought by the conjunction would also include the death of many Christians, and revolutions within the Church. Carion offers predictions of the distant future, including the arrival of the Antichrist in 1693, and an unnamed calamity, which would be one of the worst witnessed in history, brought by the completion of the Saturnian cycle in 1789. In Carion's mind, there is only one possible recourse: a complete reform of the Roman Church in accordance with the Lutheran reform movement.

Although this survey is not by any means a comprehensive examination of the pamphlets issued and reissued with regards to the conjunction of 1524, this review of the literature offers a great deal of insight as to the uses of such a popular medium, and the intentions held by their authors. None of the pamphlets issued supported the notion of a universal deluge, and although many believed that the ensuing disasters would be severe, the gravest of expectations were often located within the remote areas of Europe, or at some distant point in the future. In most cases, these pamphlets became vehicles through which the author could provide a religious interpretation and recommended course of action; in this manner, they become the propaganda tools of men passionate in their beliefs, and their hopes for Christianity. Such popular publications were intended to pacify the growing anxiety of a public expecting the inauguration of the Millennium, and their own Final Judgement.

Interestingly, one of the authors of the ephemerides which had provided the initial source for the rumors of a second universal flood responded to the public panic at the age of seventy-two. Johannes Stoeffler issued his treatise *Expurgatio aduersus diuinationum XXIIII anni suspitiones à quibuscuque idigne sibi offusas, nominatim aut à Geogrio Tannstetter Collimitio Lycoripensi, Medico & Mathematico, in eo libello quem ipse consolatorium inscripsit*[26] in 1523. In this work, he addresses the errors of Tannstetter and other astrologers, and denies the accusation that he was responsible for predicting a universal deluge. In spite of this public correction, and of those many publications which refuted the possibility of such a flood, the public continued to fear the conjunction until well beyond its expected date. Indeed, more than enough evidence was seemingly provided: the future of the Christian faith was uncertain as the conflicts between Luther and the Roman Church worsened; the Turkish forces presented a constant threat to Christian borders; and celestial apparitions and unnatural earthly events were to be found in every village in the early years of the sixteenth century. In the public mind, the pamphlets issued with regards to the conjunction provided the final proof that the future of the Christian world was in imminent danger, and if one could not read the text, the images made this point abundantly clear.

[1] Adriaan Bredero, "The Announcement of the Coming of the Antichrist and the Medieval Concept of Time," Prophecy and Eschatology, The Ecclesiastical History Society (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1994) 7.

[2] Nicholas Campion, The Great Year: Astrology, Millenarianism, and History in the Western Tradition (London: Arkana, 1994) 355.

[3] Lynn Thorndike, A History of Magic and Experimental Science, vol. 5 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941) 181.

[4]Scribner, For the Sake of Simple Folk 123.

[5]Scribner, For the Sake of Simple Folk 123.

[6]Catholic and Protestant predictions located the calamities as taking place within the camp of their religious opponents. Protestants implied that God's wrath would be most felt in Rome and Catholic regions, while Catholics suggested that Germany would suffer the most severe effects of the conjunction.

[7]Hammerstein 133.

[8]Kurze, 'Astrologi Hallucinati' 189. Although Lichtenberger's treatise was not reprinted in Germany at this time, a number of earlier German editions were widely available.

[9]Kurze, 'Astrologi Hallucinati' 187.

[10]In Flügschriften des Frühen 16. Jahrhunderts auf Microfiches, eds. H.J. Köhler, H. Hebenstreit, and C. Weismann (Zug: Inter Documentation Company, 1978, microfiche) 1216-3068. Please note that these numbers refer to the microfiche number, followed by the catalogue number of the pamphlet.

[11]Hammerstein 133.

[12]Thorndike, History vol. 5 182.

[13]*On the False Prognostication of a Deluge*. In Flügschriften des Frühen 16. Jahrhunderts auf Microfiches 1614-4167.

[14] Discussed in Thorndike, History vol.5 221.

[15]Zambelli, "Many Ends for the World," 'Astrologi Hallucinati' 239. Philipp Melanchthon and Joachim, Elector of Brandenburg, in particular, held Gaurico in

high esteem.

[16]Zambelli, "Many Ends for the World", 'Astrologi Hallucinati' 243. The majority of Gaurico's predictions, prior to 1522, were published anonymously.

[17]In Flügschriften des Frühen 16. Jahrhunderts auf Microfiches 920-2287.

[18]Zambelli, "Many Ends for the World," 'Astrologi Hallucinati' 247-48.

[19]Thorndike, History vol.5 229.

[20]Zambelli, "Many Ends for the World," 'Astrologi Hallucinati' 250. Virdung asserts that Gaurico's pamphlet, issued in support of his recommendations for calendar reform, was specifically intended to alarm Maximilian I and the Imperial Diet of Trier in 1512.

[21]*Practica on the Antichrist.* Discussed in Scribner, For the Sake of Simple Folk 184.

[22]*German Practica.* Discussed in Thorndike, History v.5 203.

[23]*Warning of the Flood.* In Flügschriften des Frühen 16. Jahrhunderts auf Microfiches 1244-3161.

[24]Zambelli, "Introduction," 'Astrologi Hallucinati' 8.

[25]*Prognostication and Explanation of the Great Waters.* In Flügschriften des Frühen 16. Jahrhunderts auf Microfiches 858-2170; 920-2285.

[26]*An Expurgation from the Suspicions of Divinations as to the year 1524 unjustly cast upon him by certain persons and more particularly by Georg Tannstetter Collimitius Lycoripensis, medical man and mathematician, in that booklet which he titled Consolatorius.* In Flügschriften des Frühen 16. Jahrhunderts auf Microfiches 1246-3170.

*Chapter 4*
***Image and Intent: Illustration and Implication in Astrological Prints***

The printed image had become an established element in popular culture by the 1520's; it was employed as an aid in prayer, a vehicle for the distribution of information, and an avenue for political, religious, and social satire. Because of the low literacy rates it had become an essential tool for those who wished to sway public opinion and belief. Indeed, the visual image had established a culture of its own, with a complete vocabulary that would have been immediately recognizable to both the common man and the educated elite.

By the end of the Middle Ages, visual media had developed an unique language corresponding to the image types represented.[1] One method of seeing involved the inner vision of the penitent; the pious individual gazed upon an image with the hope of achieving a mystical vision that would assure his salvation. To this type belong iconic images such as the Virgin and Child, or the Crucifixion, used to inspire piety and penitence. A second type of seeing involved direct witnessing of sacred mysteries, rather than an inner vision inspired by religious belief. This type of seeing anticipated a result similar to that of the inner vision, namely pious revelation. However, its inspiration came from the sacred made tangible, such as the host at the moment of consecration.[2] A third type of seeing entailed a pilgrimage to witness a sacred object. Merely gazing upon a sacred relic was believed to bring the pious into the presence of the holy, and assure salvation. These methods of seeing were manifest in a number of religious practices, and during the fifteenth century, they were shown in popular prints. By making the sacred image more readily available the woodcut extended these religious experiences beyond their previous limitations, and developed the individual's visual literacy. The earliest forms of the popular printed literature, the blockbook and the broadsheet, relied upon the visual component to readily reach the illiterate; religious instruction and guidance was translated into a

visual form accessible to a greater number of people. Also, the woodcut had become a popular commemoration of the pilgrimage; the image could be used time and again to recall the experience, inspiring the piety of the journey anew. Indeed, the printed image functioned in much the same manner as relics and sacred rituals, prompting meditation, devotion, and penitence. In these cases the text removed ambiguity from the message of the work, but the image had become the focal point.

The study of images and their didactive impact has a foundation in religious devotion and practices. Therefore, this custom may be as effectively applied to images of astrological prediction. Celestial apparitions and events were interpreted in terms of divine will, omens of God's displeasure and the dangers of continuing sinful lifestyles. Cosmic events, like sacred mysteries, were deemed acts of God beyond earthly influence. Publications regarding such supernatural events as comets and conjunctions provided explanations of their divine significance, and recommendations aimed to avert or lessen disastrous effects. Through practica and almanacs, the individual could receive insight into the events of his day, advice about necessary reparations, and warnings of what would come if the omens were unheeded. The images included in these publications provided visual companions to the message of the text. In the case of practica and almanacs, the images provided the viewer with predictions about the events of the coming year, and suggested appropriate courses of action. In publications which commented historically, images informed the viewer as to the reasons for events, and what could be done to prevent further calamities. In both cases, the image acted as a substitute for the direct witnessing of the event, impressing its importance upon the viewer as though it had occurred immediately before him.

Like the sacred image, astrological representations had become firmly established in popular culture by the turn of the fifteenth century. The first known western example of the illustration of the microcosm, the zodiacal man, was

developed in the fourteenth century.[3] Earlier representations of man as microcosm had been more theoretical in nature, and less accessible to the common man; in the later Middle Ages, more naturalistically, the signs of the zodiac were directly connected to the parts of the human body over which they had influence. This use of astrology was of crucial importance in the common sphere as many daily activities were affected by the planets: for example, the placement of the planets and especially the Moon had to be exactly right for the success of any medical procedure. Such conjunctions were so important that in 1427 Charles VII issued a law ordering all barbers to display a calendar in their shop, and follow its astrological guidance to the letter. Other important aspects of the relation between man and the cosmos were the cyclic activities of the Earth, such as planting and harvesting the crops. In this regard, calendars often illustrated the labors proper to each month, guided by the zodiacal houses, illustrated above or within the earthly labor. Similarly, illustrations of the planets and their children, those who were born under the influence of the planet, became common. Each planet's personification was illustrated by men and women in occupations believed to be guided by the planet. This system assumed that every individual was guided by and subject to the laws of the planets: future activities, fortunes and misfortunes all were presented graphically in astrological images.

The Roman visual tradition of astrology was first revived in the twelfth century in Italy,[4] where the connections to classical culture were strong. Initially, the illustrations of the planets little resembled those of the Olympian gods of antiquity; rather than reviving the representations of classical sculptures, depictions derived from descriptions in astrological texts. Thus their planetary attributes were extrapolated not from the legends of classical culture, but from the characteristics observed and recorded in astrological terms. Another important feature of the Medieval revival of the planetary gods was their transformation into contemporary

beings. Because their movements were understood with respect to the cycles of human life and nature, their influence and importance on the earthly plane was clearest when they were illustrated in human form. As superior beings, the planets exerted influence upon those below. They were not, however, represented as divine, elusive figures, removed from the earthly world of man.

Michael Scotus, court astrologer of Frederick II in the early years of the thirteenth century, represented the planets in Christian terms to emphasize their celestial roles.[5] Planetary representations prior to the fifteenth century retained their oriental and Arabic features, reflective of their origin. By the fifteenth century they had been completely assimilated by western European culture, and were shown as members of the Christian class structure. Thus Mars became the contemporary knight, Venus the courtly maiden, Saturn took the appearance of the peasant, often shown as a cripple, Jupiter acquired the vestments of the judiciary official, and Mercury was dressed as a merchant or in the robes of a scholar. Although these attributes reflect the planets' Roman heritage, they are no longer addressed as mythical figures of a distant past:[6] they are influences and forces of the present day, recognizable within a Christian context. Representation within the Christian social system rendered their powers more immediate, and comprehensible, to the common man. Saturn's image as the peasant, an elderly man dressed in rags, often holding a scythe and crutch, identified him with the less fortunate members of Christian society: he ruled the occupations of agricultural labor, as well as criminals and the diseased. His grim nature implied that grave misfortune would befall those who were born under his negative influence, and that the world would witness maleficent effects when he was in a position of importance in the cosmos. Similarly, Mars, dressed in armor, connoted aggressiveness and destruction. Those born under his influence were belligerent in nature, inclined to acts of violence, murder, arson, and theft. Years ruled by Mars were bound to be wrought with criminal activity and

threats of war. In contrast to these negative forces, Jupiter, god of justice and benevolence, appears in the robes of judicial, or clerical office. Jupiter brought good fortune to those born under his rule: they became leaders and enforcers of law, both secular and sacred, and under his influence the world would witness peace and prosperity. Mercury, too, promised signs of good fortune. The versatile Mercury, as the god of scholarship and the arts, indicated that those born under Mercury were destined to be intellectuals, craftsmen, and merchants. Mercury's reign was seen as beneficial, bringing prosperity to those below. Venus, the planet of love, represented as the courtly maiden the moral aspects of human nature. In contrast to Mars, she governed manners and propriety, essential in good Christian conduct. In combination with other influences she could equally represent the opposite of those virtues. In such circumstances, love became sinful, lascivious, and immoral. The influences of all the planets could be affected by the other planets. Jupiter's beneficial influences, for example, would become negative if in aspect with the maleficent forces of either Saturn or Mars; this particular combination indicated calamities within the imperial and religious systems, such as heretics, cults, and the corruption of judicial law.

The development of these fifteenth-century representations of the planets provided a pictorial language immediately recognized and comprehended by the common man. Incorporated into practica, calendars, and almanacs, illustrations of the planets in their conjunctions, personified in contemporary dress, enhanced the publication, increased its popularity and supplied visual aids to the text. Astrologers and scholars provided interpretations of the combined effects of the planets. However, the illiterate could find some indication of the expected effects merely by the illustrations of the publications.

Examination of a selection of pamphlets printed between 1492 and 1520 reveals two types of astrological images. The first illustrates probable circumstances for the year in question. The first type illustrates almost topographical settings for the

predictions of the year in question, the second type represents the anticipated events in more ambiguous contexts. To this first type belong two publications by the astrologer Wenceslai von Budweiß, an early work by Johann Virdung von Haßfurt, and the early works of Joseph Grünpeck. The title illustration for Budweiß's practica of 1492 (Fig. 5) depicts a contemporary landscape populated by the dead, lying on the ground. In the river, a small number of people have also come to tragic ends after the sinking of their ship; one crew member still clings to life, grasping a barrel set adrift by the wreck. Above, Saturn with his scythe rears his head from the clouds, showering rain upon the land, and winds on the waters below. This illustration embodies Saturn's expected effects in 1492: heavy rains and wind will lead to flooding, shipwrecks, and death. A banderole above the illustration, which reads *Saturnus ein herr dyses yarß 1492*,[7] does not offer clarification of the cosmic influences, but does state that Saturn shall rule in that year; the illustration indicates the gravity of his influence. The title illustration of a later practica of 1496 (Fig. 6) is somewhat less cataclysmic. In this title illustration, Venus, accompanied by the figure of Aquarius, and Mars, seated upon the symbol of Taurus, look down upon a spherical representation of the Earth, which shows three communities. Again, water flows upon the Earth, showered from the vessel of Aquarius, the effects compounded by wind from the mouth of Taurus, and fire from the arrow of Mars. Venus in Aquarius, crowned and holding a scepter, is depicted with Mars in Taurus as the primary rulers for the year 1496. The quartile relationship of the two planets, separated by 90°, shall bring unfortunate effects for that year. Thus, the earthly sphere shows calamity and impending disaster. Similarly, in Johann Virdung von Haßfurt's practica for 1507 (Fig. 7), the title image shows a small section of the cosmos, divided in the center by a vertical line labeled midnight. To the left and right, winds blow from the upper corners, while, below, the Sun rests in the corners of the horizon. Below the Moon, a small fortress labelled *Erterich*, meaning

"Kingdom of the Earth", is surrounded by water, and a comet, labeled *cometa*, streaks across the sky, between the symbols of Virgo and Leo. The illustration thus forewarns of a comet that would appear in the autumn of that year. Although an exact date is not specified, the image indicates that the event was to occur at midnight, and that great floods could be expected. They seem not, however, to breach the walls of the city. The illustrations of these three practica focus primarily upon the effects on the weather that would result from the planetary movements and comets; the specifics would be elaborated upon in the text, but the viewer could receive some indication of what was in store for the year from the visual elements.

In the works of Joseph Grünpeck the illustrations take a dramatically different appearance. The title illustration of his earlier work of 1507, *Ein newe außlegung der seltzamen wunderzaichen vn wunderpurden*, does not depict the planetary rulers of the year, but rather a grave vision of future calamities (Fig. 8). A heavenly battalion emerges from the clouds, accompanied by a shower of religious symbols: crosses, monstrances, and implements of Christ's Passion. In the landscape below, the dead are strewn upon rocks at the left. In the center a mother holds a pointed object above the chest of her baby, while at the right some attempt to escape the impending disaster by the hangman's rope. The pamphlet is a precursor to the dire warnings the astrologer issued in the following year. Grünpeck's *Speculum naturalis cœlestis & propheticae visionis*, of 1508, urgently pled for the continued efforts of Imperial reform, predicting that if the celestial warnings were not heeded by Church and State, the Christian Empire would suffer greatly. He reiterates this theme in the thirteen illustrations included in the pamphlet. The title image (Fig. 9), surrounded by an ornate border, depicts a battle between clergy, nobility, and commoners in the form of a shower of stones from the heavens, destroying a Catholic church below. None of the participants of the battle seem to notice the fall of the Church taking place in their midst, so intent are they upon their conflicts. Although this image is

not nearly as frightful as its earlier counterpart, it remains an intense reflection of Grünpeck's message within the pamphlet: Church and State must work together for the salvation of the people in their care. A similar message is imparted to the audience in the twelve additional images of the pamphlet, which illustrate the risks taken by Church and State officials in their refusals to cooperate with each other, with one indicating the benefits that may be attained in a peaceful world in which each individual is content and socially productive.

The image of earthly disaster and destruction was a forceful element of the practica; it illustrated the expected effects, and thereby provided due warning to the audience. This type of image, however, was a rare addition to the practica. Indeed, Grünpeck's *Ad reverendissimos et ilustrissimos principes*, of 1515, abandons the cataclysmic image, adorning the title page instead with the coats of arms of the men to whom he dedicated the publication (Fig. 10).

A different way of incorporating woodcut illustrations and text was more common among the astrological publications of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. This system removed the immediacy of the planetary gods and their influences from the title illustrations. The shallow, nondescript landscapes distanced the figures and veiled their impact. For instance, in a calendar issued by Georg Tannstetter in 1509, a small illustration appears at the bottom of the sheet beside a representation of a lunar eclipse (Fig. 11). Jupiter, dressed in the robes of a Bishop, is confronted by the knightly Mars, who carries a flag adorned with the symbol of Scorpio. The Latin text to the right of the image describes an eclipse of the Moon in Sagittarius. No details locate Jupiter and Mars, or define their expected terrestrial influences; they are merely indicated as the most significant planets for 1509.

In contrast to the calendar illustration, the woodcut on the title page of Tannstetter's *Iudicium viennense*, published in Latin in 1511, does not illustrate the planetary deities (Fig. 12). Instead, a group of scholars stand in a lush landscape,

staring and pointing toward the heavens. Above, a few clouds drift across the sky, among a small number of stars, but no celestial apparitions loom before them. As in the calendar illustration, no indication is given regarding the events of the coming year.

An anonymous calendar of 1513, printed in Nüremberg by Wolfgang Huber, includes an illustration similar to that of Tannstetter's calendar (Fig. 13). The sheet is decorated with an elaborate border on the left side; kings intertwined with vines climb the page, ascending from an elderly seated man. This border does not seem to reflect the astrological content of the calendar. The woodcut central to the work depicts Mars, on horseback, and Venus, dressed in contemporary costume, with her companion, Cupid. In the sky above, the fish of Pisces swim around the Moon, shown in partial eclipse. In this instance, the planetary figures are located within a shallow landscape, but, as in Tannstetter's calendar, the site does not emphasize an urban setting and is thus removed from the immediate environment of the viewer. Although Mars and Venus are not mentioned, a small paragraph of text next to the woodcut indicates that on the seventh day of March a partial eclipse of the Sun will occur while the Moon is in the tail of Draconis. The text further indicates that some trouble may arise from the movements of Saturn, Jupiter and Mars, but this effect is not illustrated in the graphic detail of earlier publications.

A practica by Doctor Nemo for 1516, issued by the publisher Pamphilus Gengenbach[8] in 1514, *Practica teütsch auff das M.fünffhundert un[d] xvj. jare*, also makes use of this generic type of illustration (Fig. 14). Jupiter, with his ruler's wand, and Venus stand upon Earth. However, their location is not populated with any landmarks or cityscapes; they merely confront one another, dropping rain and flowers to the ground. This image, while ambiguous, illustrates that the two benign planets, Jupiter and Venus, would both exert their influence upon the Earth: Jupiter would bring an increase in rainfall, but would be tempered by Venus, indicated by the

flowers dropped from her hand. The rhymed text above states that the reader will soon learn that one can expect good things, but misfortunes tend to arrive unexpected.

In contrast to Gengenbach's pamphlet is a practica issued by Johann Virdung, *Die auszlegung Magistri Johannis Virdung von Haßfurt zu dem durchleüchtigen hochgebornen fürsten unnd herren*, in 1514 (Fig. 15). The dedication above the woodcut states that the publication is about the strange signs next to the Moon, which have been sighted at Hohen Drach Castle in Wirttenberg in 1514, on "*afftermontag nach Erhardi*", early at three o'clock when the Sun was rising in Scorpio. The unusual title illustration depicts a starry sky with three symbols of the lunar phases. The central figure, given facial features hidden behind a cross, represents the Moon, while the lesser figures illustrate the 'strange signs', explained in the image as *radius reflexionis*, the radiance of the celestial body. No indication is given in the image as to the significance of these symbols; they are merely represented as having some degree of importance for that year. This image is unusual and unique in its appearance among the astrological illustrations of the early sixteenth century, yet it belongs in the company of those earlier images shrouded in ambiguity.

A later practica, *Eyn nuwer auszug erlicher pronostication un[d] prophecien*, issued anonymously in 1519, is similarly vague in its illustration of the "*wonderliche dingen*", or wonderous objects, although the planetary symbols would have been more readily recognizable. The title image (Fig. 16) depicts a massive star in the center; above, Jupiter, Saturn, and Mars are represented with the symbols of the zodiacal houses which they rule. Below, partial solar and lunar eclipses are indicated for 1518 at the left, and at the right, a partial solar eclipse with a total eclipse of the Moon for 1519. This title page offers no specifics of the effects that would come from the movements of these planets yet indicates that they would be of great importance.

A practica by Simon Eyssenman for the following year, *Practica Teutsch zu Leyptzig auffgericht durch den Magister Simon Eyssenman*, brings the planetary figures in the title page back within reach of the terrestrial sphere (Fig. 17). Like Budweiß's practica of 1496, Venus and Saturn, two planets of primary importance for 1520, stand in the celestial realm, flanking the Earth. Winds blow from the lower corners while a solar eclipse is indicated in the circle around the Earth. These are the only references to anticipated events for 1520; the land inside the earthly circle remains peaceful and calm, as though unaffected by the two planetary gods looming in the sky. Unusual representations of the planets themselves dominate the scene. Saturn, while retaining the sickle, has been given an exotic, oriental appearance with the jewelled turban and long beard. Saturn, the malefic planet, has been transformed into the deadly enemy of the Christian Empire, the Turk. Venus, too, has been transformed in appearance. The goddess formerly associated with love, morality and Christian propriety, has lost those virtues and now appears as the Whore of Babylon, balancing a goblet upon her palm similar to those commonly identified with that apocalyptic figure. Her feathery headdress, another new feature, appears also to connect her with the infidel forces, giving her an air of exoticism. The inscription above the woodcut indicates that Venus is the ruler of the year, and Saturn her consort. Their impact upon the terrestrial world is not indicated directly, but, by dressing the figures in these very specific costumes, the author has made use of popular belief in impressing his message. Turks, commonly associated with the armies of the Antichrist, carried connotations of an impending doom for Christianity. This image compounds this belief through Saturn's negative influences on Venus. Her transformation into the Whore of Babylon both indicates the sinful nature of the foreign nation, and emphasizes their role in the destruction of God's kingdom on Earth. Such specific references within the image undoubtedly led the viewer to conclude that the year 1520 would witness catastrophic threat from the Turks.

Interestingly, in another issue of Eyssenman's 1520 pamphlet the title illustration has been changed (Fig. 18). The simplified image again depicts the terrestrial sphere flanked by the two gods, now, however, stripped of their exotic garb. A demure Venus stands on the symbol of Pisces, gazing towards the Earth below, while Saturn, dressed in quasi-Roman armor, stands upon the symbol of Cancer. Although an inscription identifies the figures as Saturn and Venus, one could easily mistake Saturn for Mars. This may very well have been an intentional misdirection. It is evident that the author believed that 1520 would be a year fraught with turmoil; by dressing Saturn in the garb of a Roman warrior rather than a Turkish one, the illiterate could draw the conclusion that war may be imminent. Eyssenman's other title page for 1520 downplays the Turkish peril, perhaps to prevent undue panic, and the modified image implies that even Saturn is prepared for battle in any event. The specific location of the two planets, Saturn in Cancer and Venus in Pisces, further clarifies Eyssenman's alteration of the title page illustration. Saturn is here shown to be in trine aspect, a separation of 120°, to Venus in Pisces. This favorable relationship indicates that Saturn's influence would be beneficial to Venus, rather than detrimental. This meaning may explain the demure Venus, and the armored Saturn, ready to protect her.

These publications, a small selection of those produced in the early years of the sixteenth century, illustrate the general type of woodcuts included in annual practica and calendars. Astrological illustrations tended to be vague, as were the predictions offered within the text; the threats posed by the celestial movements were removed from the immediate realm of the audience, safely distanced from the individual's community. Ambiguous settings provide very little information beyond the character of the ruling planets. Despite obscure references, the reader could derive the elemental information from basic understanding of the influences of the planets included in the images. The earlier publications of Budweiß, Virdung, and

Grünpeck are more topographical in their illustrations; earthly dangers and destruction are shown in graphic detail, but this approach is not the standard of the popular publications. Images of similar gravity continue to appear in publications commenting upon celestial apparitions and bizarre earthly events, highlighted, however, as isolated incidents. Visual aids graphically represent the issues in question. Within the scope of the practica, however, the average illustrations match the vagueness of the text itself, offering only the most basic reference to the effects of the celestial movements in that year.

As public panic and controversy surrounding the conjunction of 1524 began to intensify, pamphlets addressing the conjunction revived the type of astrological illustration that emphasized the planetary effects on the earthly realm. Although the images retain a measure of ambiguity, for the most part the action is located directly in the viewer's world. Like the text of the authors involved in the debate, the illustrations exhibit two approaches. Those who supported the Catholic Church offered consolatory interpretations of the conjunction's importance; similarly, the images in these works project a calm view of the Earth under the influence of the planetary alignment. Conversely, those who followed Luther's program of reform tended to provide interpretations of destruction and turmoil, although not universal in nature. Again, the images reflect these interpretations, providing chaotic scenes of earthly calamity. In some cases, such as Grünpeck and Virdung, the religious affiliations are unknown, yet their images reflect the more grave aspects of the expected conjunction.

The pamphlets issued by Joseph Grünpeck in the years approaching the cosmic event of 1524 were for the most part a reworking of those issued in 1507 and 1508. The predictions and recommendations made by the astrologer in the first decade of the century appeared to apply more specifically to current events. Strife between Church and State continued, and the growing controversy between Luther

and the Church of Rome threatened the stability of the religious institution. Consequently, interest in Grünpeck's works revived, and his pamphlets were reissued with growing frequency between 1515 and 1524.

In 1520, Grünpeck's *Ein newe außlegung der seltzamen wunderzaichen und wunderpurden* of 1507 was republished. The title illustration of the earlier work was reworked for this new publication (Fig. 19). The image appears enlarged and reversed, but the land remains populated with the dead, scattered on the ground and hung from the trees, and the sky delivers a thunderous shower of the instruments of the Passion and symbols of the Church. Again, the armed battalion charges from the clouds, raining havoc on the Earth below, a powerful reminder of the disastrous state of temporal affairs, and what would result if human ways were not rectified. In 1522, three publications of Grünpeck's commentary omit such alarming illustrations. In fact, only one of these contains any illustrations (Fig. 20); the title page of *Ain nutliche betrachtung der Naturlichen hymlischen und prophetischen* is accompanied by an elaborate border of columns and foliage. In the center of the page, a cloud appears, from which extends a whip, an instrument of Christ's Passion. Each of the four strands of the weapon are labeled: pestilence, war, famine, and death. These are the only visual references to punishment or calamity in the pamphlet; yet, for those who could not read the captions, these would infer strife to come. However, this message remains vague without a knowledge of the content of the text.

In the same year, Grünpeck reissued his *Speculum* of 1508, updated and reworked to apply to the current religious climate, and the anticipated events of 1524. This work, titled *Spiegel der naturlichen himlischen vnd prophetischen sehungen aller trubsalen angst* , retained the thirteen images of the earlier work, although they lack the decorative border and were rearranged to suit the purpose of the reissue. The title image of the original has been replaced with an illustration of the Ship of Saint Peter with a crucifixion in its sails, a reference to the role of the Catholic Church

(Fig. 21a). To the left, a small group of secular viewers observe the scene. The focus of the woodcut is a small ship carrying a bishop, cardinal, monk, and the pope, leaning heavily to one side, allowing the turbulent waters to fill the craft, and threatening the lives of those on board. Within the sinking ship, a crowned secular ruler and a full-faced figure next to him grasp the sails of the clerical boat. Are they causing the ship to sink, or are they attempting to save these religious leaders? The implication of the image is similar to Grünpeck's earlier themes: in order for the nation to be saved, the Church must work with the State. The woodcut on the title page likely had additional connotations at this time. As the battle waged between Luther and the Catholic Church, Luther posed charges of blasphemous practices against the Church of Rome. Within the public mind, this illustration undoubtedly reflected those charges, expressing an urgent plea for the Catholic Church to reform its ways, lest it be completely destroyed.

The second woodcut of the pamphlet echoes the dangers of the current ecclesiastical practices (Fig. 21b). In the image, the Church itself has been turned upside down, while three secular figures inside the Church receive no guidance from religious authorities. Below, a monk, a plowman, a peddler, and a merchant at a table are engaged in their daily affairs. The reversed image of the church implies a state deprived of sacred guidance, in which people no longer know their proper spheres. The text above implicates changes in Christianity represented by the visible signs in the heavens. Thus, the image urges religious reform.

The third illustration reflects Grünpeck's prediction of a Christian prophet, not, however, in the form of the holy, pious man the astrologer expected (Fig. 21c). The sky around the figure is filled with stars, crosses, and implements of the Passion. The prophet, with a forked beard and dressed in exotic costume, holds a crucifix in each hand, and appears to be chastising his audience in the name of Christ. Those who hear his words, clergy to the right and commoners to the left, cower in fear, tear

their hair, and attempt to take their lives. The image reflects the risk of spiritual depravity in the absence of a strong religious presence, and in the early 1520's, this threat seemed embodied in the harsh accusations exchanged between the Lutheran reformers and the Catholic Church. Some believed that Luther was this predicted prophet; others believed that the figure had come from the Church itself.

The fourth image repeats the title illustration in every detail (Fig. 21d), while the text implies that the Ship of Saint Peter will perish. The following illustration demonstrates the behavior of men guided by ambition and greed rather than by God (Fig. 21e). This depicts a seemingly calm, pleasant world, but here, the effects of the church upside down are shown; at the left, a woman throws a pail of water on a richly dressed man standing beneath her window, presumably to cool an ardent lover, while at the right a monk gives aid to a crippled, elderly man for a price. In the foreground, to the left a poor man appears to be handing two money pouches to the richly dressed man next to him, and to the right, a cleric, who applies three leeches to the stomach of a pilgrim, administers medical attention rather than spiritual guidance. In this image, spiritual neglect has resulted in depravity and sin; man has replaced his reverence for God with the reverence of material gain.

The sixth image again shows the perils of current practices (Fig. 21f). It is in this place, at the beginning of the fifth chapter of the practica, that the original title illustration makes its appearance. The chapter discusses further causes of Christian calamities that could soon be expected: eclipses of both the Sun and Moon, and the great conjunction of the superior planets. The woodcut reflects the dangers to come: the Church is destroyed by a shower of stone and flame from God, but again, no one notices its fate, as commoners wield their swords against Catholic prelates and the faithful.

The following two images also depict the impending dangers to the Church. The first illustrates the Kingdom of God as a sacred vineyard (Fig. 21g); Christians

harvest the vines, while Christ as wine press provides the wine that is his blood. This implication of the wine and host used in the Catholic mass to signify the transubstantiation of Christ powerfully recalls the sacrifice of Christ for the sins of humanity. The following image (Fig. 21h) depicts the destruction of that sacred institution. The boundaries of the vineyard are breached by the Turkish forces, the sanctuary of God ravaged and destroyed. Again, the reference to the infidel would have impressed upon the viewer the very real threat posed by the Turks approaching the Habsburg borders to the east.

Another danger, again from within the Christian community, is presented in the ninth image (Fig. 21i). Below the figure of Cupid, representing love, Catholic clergy, nobles and commoners alike kneel before three animals: a stag, an ox, and a rabbit. These animals may be symbols of Christ's sacrifice and of piety,[9] yet in this image those who kneel before the animals offer their worship to beasts, rather than God. The woodcut's strong warning against idolatry and the worship of false gods, is clearly evident in the text below the image. The Christian faith is again threatened in the following illustration, which reiterates the threat of the Turkish invasion of Christ's vineyard (Fig. 21j). A robed figure wearing a pointed hat, flanked by three Turkish officials to the right and two kings to the left, has taken the throne. Holding, like God or Moses, a book open for all to see, and pointing to the Turks at his left, the 'sinister' side, he warns the two Christian rulers kneeling at his right of the peril posed by the Turkish forces, and the death they shall bring to the Christian faithful, laying in the foreground.

The eleventh woodcut returns to dangers within the Christian community (Fig. 21k). The clerical procession emerging from the Church is greeted with blows by a knight. A bishop, who has abdicated his clerical office by removing his miter, is embraced by a king, evidently in command of the small troop, while another king stands to the right observing the event. This image reflects the lack of cooperation

between the Catholic Church and the State, and the terrible consequences of such disagreement; replaced by secular authorities, the Church has lost its power. The twelfth image expresses another sentiment of impending disaster from the east, as the Turks tear down the sanctuaries of Christendom, and brandish their scimitars against cleric and commoner alike (Fig. 21l).

The final illustration of the pamphlet returns the Christian world to its proper Catholic order (Fig. 21m). In a closing message, the author of these "*trubseligkeiten*", or sad tales, reminds the reader that the interpretations of the signs in the heavens as evidence of change indicates the difference between human and divine foreknowledge. The image depicts members of the secular realm kneeling obediently before a procession of monks and bishops who follow the flag of the Resurrection as they emerge from the Church . This is a view of the world as it should be; proper order prevails, the Catholic Church is resurrected and fulfilling its duties, and the State works peacefully with the servants of God. As a whole, the illustrations of the pamphlet reflect the dire urgency for reform and cooperation of religious and secular powers. Constant tension exists between images of the ideal world, and the world as it could become if reparations are not made. During this period, this combination of images would have had a dramatic effect upon an audience facing the constant strife between Lutheran and Catholic camps. Although only brief mention of the coming conjunction is made in the fifth chapter, the reader would undoubtedly have viewed the celestial event as further evidence of God's wrath at the earthly situation, and the impending disaster if changes were not made.

Pamphlets written in direct response to the increasing fear of the coming conjunction were often equally grave in their recommendations, though in no case supporting the theory of a universal flood. The approach to imagery in these pamphlets, however, differed in accordance with the author's religious sympathies. Authors in staunch support of the Catholic Church did not follow Grünpeck's visual

examples in their publications concerning the conjunction. Indeed, the earlier pamphlets, such as that by Agostino Nifo in 1519, did not include any images. Written in Latin, the work was addressed to the educated elite, who did not require visual aids elaborating the content of the work.

Luca Gaurico's *Prognostico* of 1522, also written in Latin, included Italianate decorative imagery suited to the taste and culture of his educated reader (Fig. 22). Classical columns and foliage dominate the decoration, with two human figures, and three empty coats of arms above. Such designs would have made the pamphlet more appealing, without the distracting sensational element observed in other publications.

Conversely, Georg Tannstetter's *In gratia serenissimi ac potetissimi principis & dni* of 1523, also written in Latin, does include a title illustration (Fig. 23). Unlike Tannstetter's earlier publication, which appealed to the educated members of society with an illustration of scholars contemplating the movements of the heavens, this pamphlet, with its Latin text, offers an illustration more closely directed to the common man. The planetary gods take their place in the heavens under the sign of Pisces, looking down upon the agricultural tasks being performed: burning weeds at the left, and reaping a rich harvest at the right. No indication appears of flooding or calamitous effects of the conjunction; indeed, the only reference made to the event is the two fish floating upon a celestial band of stars, just below the hand of God which emerges from the clouds.

Tannstetter argues in the pamphlet that moderate flooding would result from an eclipse in 1523, heightened by the conjunction in the following year, but that the effects would be reduced by the beneficial influences of Venus and Jupiter. Furthermore, he states that although the effects would not be so dire as popularly believed, the effects would last until a far more serious solar eclipse occurred, predicted for 1540. The celestial hierarchy illustrated on the title page reinforces Tannstetter's consolatory message: although some disaster may come from the

conjunction of 1524, God shall observe his promise to Noah that He would never again punish man's sins with a universal flood. The message of God's wisdom and benevolence is further reinforced by the biblical references which surround the woodcut: Job 9 at the top, Ecclesiastes 3 to the right, Psalm $84^{10}$ to the left, and Luke 2 at the bottom. A fifth reference, Jeremia 10:2, placed in a banderole below the panel of the planetary gods, admonishes the reader: "...be not dismayed at the signs of heaven, [for the heathen are dismayed at them]."

The bottom half of the woodcut also functions as a biblical reference. The depiction of the burning of weeds and the sowing of wheat refers to a parable in Matthew 13, in which the good sower is likened to the kingdom of God. Verse 30 reads "Let both [wheat and tares] grow together until the harvest: and in the time of harvest I say to the reapers, Gather ye together first the tares and bind them in bundles to burn them: but gather the wheat into my barn." This parable, presented in visual terms in the pamphlet, reflects Tannstetter's message: sin and virtue abound on earth, but those who trust in God's will, like the wheat, shall be gathered before Him in Heaven.

Through both image and text, Tannstetter urges the common man and the intellectual to keep faith in God's divine plan, and refrain from supersticious beliefs concerning the conjunction. Another parable presented in Matthew, however, may have contradicted this consolatory message. Matthew 13: 38-42 reads:

> the field is the world, and the good seed are the children of the kingdom; but the tares are the children of the wicked one; The enemy that sowed them is the devil; the harvest is the end of the world, and the reapers are the angels. As therefore the tares are gathered and burned in the fire, so shall it be in the end of this world.

The parable does not speak of waters rising through the world prior to the end of temporal time, yet the depiction of the burning weeds may have led the reader to conclude that this image was an indication that the Day of Judgement was near.

Like Tannstetter, Johann Virdung reminds the reader of God's promise of the rainbow in his pamphlets concerning the conjunction, but his illustrations are not so consolatory as those of Tannstetter. In his *Practica Deutsch* of 1522, Virdung employs an image similar to those used in earlier practica: a small representation of the earthly realm, surrounded by a representation of the cosmos (Fig. 24). Around the circumference, the symbols of the zodiac and the planetary gods take their respective places for March of 1524. Because none of the figures take notice of the tiny Earth in the center, the event seems distanced from the lives of those below. New to the image is the representation of Draco, the dragon extended across the width of the cosmos. Draco, among the first astronomical symbols, designated the placement of an eclipsed body with respect to the ecliptic, and the orbit of the Moon.[11] The two significant points of Draco are the head (*caput*), which corresponds to the northern junction of the ecliptic with the Moon's orbit, and the tail (*cauda*), the southern junction. In Virdung's illustration, the Moon is shown eclipsed at the tail, the most maleficent of the two points, while the Sun is located at the head. The negative effects of the lunar eclipse would be increased by Mars, located near the Moon. At the head of Draco, the beast's jaws grasp the symbol of Pisces. The Sun is located in the sign of Pisces, with Saturn, Venus, and Jupiter in close conjunction, indicating the placement of the planets for March, 1524. Although the woodcut does not define the effects of the conjunction, this reflection of the celestial sphere stresses the importance of the planetary movements. Virdung argues that flooding and other disasters could begin as early as 1523, and last as long as forty years. However, he reduces the threat through the image by removing the representation from the Earthly sphere.

Interestingly, an edition of Virdung's practica published that same year in Latin does not employ this type of woodcut (Fig. 25). Virdung's treatment of the subject does not depict the planets in its illustration, nor does it safely remove the

events from the temporal realm: fiery-headed dragons, a comet, and stars shower down on the landscape below, descending from an ominous sky enclosing the symbol of the fish. In this much more dramatic representation of the conjunction, the severity of the situation is emphasized through the sky, filled with rays extending from the fish, and the dangers presented by the fiery beasts and the comet. Despite the absence of planets and specific earthly catastrophes, the image locates the event within the earthly realm of the individual reader: the proximity of his world to the destruction is implied by the inclusion of a small Church to the right.

A similar approach appears in another issue of the pamphlet in 1523[12] (Fig. 26). In a much more direct image, the land has become populated with Christians, their village seen in the distance. The sky above opens in a bizarre shower of fish, flanked by Taurus and a lunar eclipse to the left, Aries and the Sun to the right. In the landscape below, threatening to breach its banks, the rising waters of the river have caught some of the unfortunate in their flows. In the background, groups of astrologers study the celestial events, armed with the tools of their trade. In the foreground, a battle wages among peasants on the left, while the clergy kneel, awestruck in prayer, to the right. The viewer has no safe distance from the cataclysmic events in the image; in fact, he is drawn into the image as though it were a vision of his own town, his own people, caught by the ravages of the heavenly movements. In this example, Virdung offers some indication of the effects of the conjunction, reflecting his prediction of the losses that would occur by flooding. He did not believe that the alignment would bring a universal flood, but a great deal of destruction, both on land and at sea. For the popular mind, inclined to superstitious and apocalyptic beliefs, the events illustrated could easily lead to a confirmation, rather than a refutation, of the rumors circulating of the conjunction.

Illustrations in the publications of Johannes Copp used similar imagery, locating the effects of the celestial alignments within the immediate world of the

reader. A *Practica Deutsch* of 1521 illustrates a battle on its title page (Fig. 27). To the left are the Christian forces, led by the Pope and Imperial legions, their banners with the papal keys and the Habsburg eagle indicating their presence. They are confronted by the armies of the Infidel, identified by his turban and a crescent moon on a banner to the right. Unexpectedly, the fleur-de-lys of French kings is represented among the Turkish flags. This inclusion of the French flag among those who defy the truth of God probably refers to François I, who unsuccessfully challenged Charles V for the German Imperial crown, which was obtained by the Habsburgs in 1519. The battle has already begun, as two warriors plunge their lances towards one another; above, Saturn, identified as the ruler of the year, is accompanied by Mars, to his left, and Jupiter, to his right. The publication does not address the dangers rumored for 1524. This is an annual prediction for 1522; however, the image gives an early indication of the troubles the Christian nation was to face, troubles that would be heightened in the following years.

In 1522, Copp published another pamphlet concerning astrological portents, and a discussion of impending threats to the Christian nation. The dialogue, *Twe nyge nutte vnd lustige Dialogi edder gespreke*, has a border illustrating the rise and fall of mankind (Fig. 28). Nude figures climb the left border, slowly reaching across the top of the page, where they acquire wings, and descend to the bottom, in an endless cycle. At the bottom of the page, two fantastical shields flank a nude woman. The unusual border decoration gives no specific implications of the content of the pamphlet.

In contrast, the title illustration of Copp's *Was auff diß Dreyundzwantzigest vnd zum tail vyer-vndzwantzigest jar* illustrates disasters upon Earth (Fig. 29a). The heavens are darkened by the thunderous storm, heavy rains fall flooding the Earth. The water levels have risen so dramatically that only the rooftops of the village buildings and the upper reaches of the trees remain visible. The flooding has washed

away most of the villagers, though some still struggle for their lives. In the distant hills, the few remaining buildings are threatened by fire and storm; to the left, a survivor raises his arms towards the heaven in awestruck fear. As in the illustrations of Virdung's pamphlets, the viewer is not granted a refuge from the events. Indeed, the scene could be the viewer's own village.

Three additional images are included in the pamphlet. The first illustrates the planets themselves (Fig. 29b): Jupiter is identified by the text "*ITER*" in front of his face. Seated upon his throne, he is joined by Mars, Saturn, and Mercury. Below their feet is a lunar eclipse in the sign of Pisces. Although Mercury's significance in the image is unclear, the representation of the two superior planets reflects the great conjunction, clarifying the cause of the destruction illustrated on the cover. The following illustration expands upon the calamities that could be expected: war wages full scale, within the walls of the city and in the fields beyond (Fig 29c). The text above the woodcut, however, describes climatological expectations and, therefore, does not reflect the battle shown in the woodcut. The final illustration echoes the doom on the cover; together, the images predict severe and widespread destruction for the years following 1524. Copp firmly believed that the effects of the celestial convergence would be extreme; he predicted extensive rains and bloodshed unlike any that had been witnessed. The text does offer some hope: if the Church reformed according to the teachings of Luther, salvation could be secured. In contrast to the images of Grünpeck's publications, the illustrations included in Copp's work provide neither a solution to the disasters, nor recommendations as to how the calamities might be averted or lessened. Without access to the text, therefore, the pamphlets present an ominous situation in which earthly destruction was unavoidable.

This certain doom was further illustrated in the title image of another pamphlet published in 1522, *Was auff disz drey und zwayntzigist unnd zsum teyl vier und zwayntzigist jar des hymmels lauff fünfftig aufzweysz* (Fig. 30). Again, rain

showers from above, and battle ensues below, but Copp's indictment of the Catholic Church here is far more direct: those involved are not secular figures, but members of the clergy. To the right, a procession headed by a Catholic monk emerges from a city which is being ravaged by the forces to the left. Christ is amidst this group at the left, and the four Evangelists appear in their symbolic form of ox, man, eagle and lion, behind the canons. A small pile of bibles lies beside a barrel; another of the sacred books is cast through the air, fired by the canons. Above, their efforts are supported by God Himself, who fires arrows towards the crumbling walls of a city.

This image was clearly intended as a visual counterpart to the efforts of Luther and his supporters: the battalion to the left, armed with the Word of God, shall overcome the depravity and blasphemy preached by the Catholic Church. Apocalyptic overtones are also invested in the image. The inscription "we we we" above the city identify the image with the event foretold in Revelation, when an eagle cried woe upon the Earth at the breaking of the seventh seal. The presence of the four Evangelists, too, implicates the ominous coming of the Apocalypse, their symbols surrounding Christ's appearance in Revelation 4. This image goes beyond mere criticism of Catholic practices, to become a grave warning of the end hanging over the Roman Church, and those who follow its ways.

Although the pamphlet repeats Copp's predictions for the conjunction of 1524, the dire need for reform is impressed upon the public with greater urgency through the directness of the illustration. The image confirms the worst fears of the popular mind concerning the conjunction. Popular wisdom held that the celestial convergence hailed the coming of the Last Days; this image implies that the alignment is no mere sign of God's displeasure, but a warning that the event truly was at hand. Copp remained cautious to some degree in his indictment of the Catholic Church, carefully excluding visual representations of the Pope from those who emerge from the stricken city.

Copp expresses these same cautions in a reissue of the practica in 1523. This issue contains three images, copies of three illustrations published in Grünpeck's *Spiegel der naturlischen himlischen vnd prophetischen sehungen aller trubsalen angst* of 1522. The title page illustration reworks the destruction of the Church from above, while war is engaged in below (Fig. 31a). In this image, as in earlier counterparts, the Catholic Church appears in the battle, here in the form of a Bishop threatened by a man armed with a dagger. However, this woodcut is the only one of its nature in the pamphlet. The following illustration (Fig 31b) repeats the clerical procession from the Church and secular figures kneeling before them. In Grünpeck's publication, the woodcut had represented consolation and the world at rights with itself, yet Copp's Protestant text mentions that the eclipse of 1523 indicates great strife between the common man and the "*pfaffheyt*", the papacy. Thus, the text implies criticism of the Catholic Church.

The final image (Fig. 31c) is another copy of the original of Grünpeck's work, with alterations to suit the author's need for caution. To prevent offense to Duke George of Saxony,[13] the Catholic ruler of Leipzig, where the pamphlet was published, the papal tiara has been omitted . Nevertheless, Protestant hints exist. The crown of the king standing in the boat on the left has also been changed to a more simple hat, and the fat figure next to him holding the sails of the ship, may perhaps be a reference to Luther. Here, the salvation of the Ship of Saint Peter will come not from a cooperation of Church and State, as recommended by Grünpeck, but through the two secular figures holding the sail, by implication, the Word of God as taught by Luther.

As in the earlier issues of Copp's pamphlet, the images lead to the conclusion that the Catholic Church is in grave trouble, and the great conjunction is God's response to the sins of humanity. The text immediately above this woodcut discusses the weather expected in the four seasons, while the sentence above this concludes the

paragraph with "*got machs nach seim gotlichen willen*", God acts according to his divine will. Although some indication of hope is offered by the references to religious reform in the final woodcut, the sins of man cry out for judgement which will come according to God's will in the form of a second flood.

Equally grave implications are made in the pamphlet issued anonymously by Alexander Seitz in 1520. The title illustration of *Ain Warnung des Sündtfluss oder erschrocklichen wasser Des xxiiij jars* has two sections, both of which graphically depict the dangers presented by the celestial alignment (Fig. 32). Below, the land has been almost completely submerged by flood. A single building drifts in the tides, and few people struggle for survival, waiting for the ship to rescue them. To the left, a sea-demon rears its head from the depths of the water, threatening those who survive, as well as the vessel that could save them. The sky illustrates the calamitous weather: a comet shines to the right, and a dove swoops towards the ship, no doubt an allusion to Noah's Arc. In the upper level of the image, a variety of symbols are represented: brilliant heavenly bodies surrounded by auras, a church, four rainbows, two of which end in three fiery spheres, and finally, the seven-headed beast of the Apocalypse.

In this dramatic representation, Seitz's warning of terrible flooding in the title is reflected in the traumatic scene below. Similarly, he implies belief in the hope offered through the Lutheran reform of the Church. In the text, Seitz invokes God's promise in the rainbow, visually reflected both in the rainbows themselves, and by the ark, saved from the ravages of sea. The church proposed by Luther becomes this second ark, graced by the dove of the Holy Ghost. If the warning of God is not heeded, however, the threat posed by the sea-demon and the beast of the Apocalypse might indeed be realized. Such a severe, dramatic representation would have controlled an audience, even one unable to read the text. The implications of coming doom are very clear.

The image of the flood included in Seitz's practica is a copy of the title illustration of a pamphlet issued by Johann Carion in 1522 (Fig. 33). Carion, who had secretly supported Luther's reform efforts, predicted widespread flooding, revolutions within the Church, and innumerable deaths as the consequences of the conjunction of 1524. He did not support the belief that the celestial convergence hailed the Apocalypse, but he firmly believed that the future of the Christian nation was in great danger. Carion advises that the only course of action is complete religious reform. Although this would not prevent the celestial alignment from producing negative effects, the event should be considered a divine warning against the impious behaviors promoted by the Catholic Church. The illustration of the *Prognosticatio vnd Erklerung der grossen Wesserung* highlights this warning "for all Christians". As in Seitz's practica, the ship and dove represent Luther's reform efforts, thus transforming the vessel into the new Ship of Saint Peter, and the second Ark of Noah, which would rescue the faithful from the dangers posed by the comet, sea-demon, and storms.

In another issue of Carion's practica in 1522, the title text warns those who believe in Christ about the great flood and other terrible things to come. The title illustration again uses a pre-existing image, taken originally from Grünpeck, and found again in the work of Copp (Fig. 34). This woodcut implies the deterioration of the Church as the root of the current state of affairs, as without proper religious guidance the people turn their efforts to aggression and violent assault. Faith in God is lost, His teachings abandoned; the result is the destruction of mankind, by their own hands. In punishment for their sins, God has sent his heavenly retribution by means of the great conjunction.

This sentiment is proposed most powerfully in an earlier issue of Carion's practica. The 1521 issue includes a tripartite illustration (Fig. 35). In the upper right, a comet shines above a peaceful cityscape. To the upper left, another cityscape is

depicted, ravaged by storm; towers collapse under the tremendous force of the rains and wind, while survivors take to boats in an attempt to escape the rising flood. Below the contrasting city scenes, a knight and a peasant raise their swords against the pope as a cardinal raises his arms in protest, and an emperor hides his face in horror. The figures illustrate the result of the strife between Church, State, and laymen, but they also represent the planets under which the above comet appeared. The symbol of Jupiter is placed upon the robe of the pope, identifying the temporal figure with the planetary ruler of the profession. Similarly, the symbol of Mars is placed behind the knight, and the symbol of the Sun is found next to the emperor, demonstrating the dual roles of the figures in the image. In view of the impending conjunction, the pope, knight, and peasant could similarly have been viewed as representations of the planets involved in the 1524 conjunction, and the effects they would exert upon Earth.[14] This representation of Saturn does not follow his traditional appearance as an elderly cripple with a scythe. As ruler of the peasant order, he would undoubtedly have been read into the image by a general audience. In this way, the implications of the image expand beyond the immediate effects of the comet of 1521 to include disasters impending from the expected celestial convergence. Whether one understood the image in terms of the comet, of the conjunction, or both, the image implies that the future would indeed be grim, dangerous, and merciless.

With few exceptions, the illustrations of astrological and prophetic practica in the early decades of the sixteenth century focused upon representations of the planetary gods concerned for the year in question. These images are based upon the tradition established by ancient and Arabic astrologers, transforming it into a popular astrological language accessible in text and image. The popular belief in the celestial bodies would have made it possible for common folk to derive information from the representations of the planets, even though the specifics of the predictions were not

indicated in the image itself. Stress upon the planetary gods rather than their effects also provided the viewer with a safe distance from the predicted events. This distance prevented undue concern from arising in anticipation of the heavenly movements, yet still made important information available to the public.

As the rumors grew surrounding the conjunction of 1524, however, the woodcuts of astrological publications altered from placid, safe representations into something far more immediate to the viewer's world. The illustrations thrust the possible effects into the reader's existence: focus moved from the outer reaches of the cosmos, to the temporal realm, applicable to any village, city, or nation.

The nature of the images included reflected the author's own religious aims. For Grünpeck, the visual elements of the pamphlet express his wishes for religious reform, and of a peaceful union between Church and State. He offers both alarmist and consolatory possibilities in visual terms, both forms intended to impress the importance of his message. Those who supported the Catholic Church in its struggles with the Lutheran movement used images to promote a sense of security within the public sphere. In Tannstetter's pamphlets, images are populated by individuals at peace in their world, rather than expressing impending destruction or doom. With respect to the great conjunction, the illustrations were intended to demonstrate the error in the belief of a second universal flood, and the imminence of the Last Days. Their message was that, while there may have been some need for change within the Church, God was not so displeased with the state of earthly affairs that He would ravage the Earth with a second deluge, and would not impose Final Judgement as of yet. The apocalyptic event was unavoidable, but would not be witnessed in current history.

This consolatory approach was not followed by supporters of the Lutheran reform movement. Pamphlets promoting Luther's efforts provide far more alarmistic images, illustrating great disasters that could be expected in the coming years. While

not supporting belief in a universal flood, they played upon the heightened fears of the common folk, presenting the catastrophic conjunction as divine proof that Luther's methods were not only beneficial, but urgently needed for the safety and salvation of the Christian nation. The effects of the planetary alignment could not be averted entirely, but these authors promoted the belief that conversion and faith could lessen the calamities.

By employing sensational illustrations, the pamphlets issued in regard to the great conjunction of 1524 presented the public with seemingly irrefutable proof of the rumors and fears coursing through the popular mind. For those who were unable to read, the images were invaluable, even if the information of the text could be transmitted by a third party. The establishment of the printed image within the popular publication had invested the visual component with an authority of its own; simply by appearing in print, published by a figure of communal authority, the image gained the effect of truth.[15]

The interpretations offered in the text of the publications may have been less severe than popular rumors of the conjunction, yet the majority of the illustrations contradicted this moderate view. The visual interpretations presented vast flooding, social strife, and violence unlike any witnessed in history. Furthermore, to underscore their messages, some incorporated prevalent popular beliefs such as the threat of the Turkish forces and the supernatural. In view of the power of the printed image, sensational illustrations undermined the efforts of the text, rather than reiterated the predictions the publication was intended to provide. Indeed, they appeared to confirm the rumors, and thus supported a continuation of apocalyptic speculation and public fear.

[1]Scribner, For the Sake of Simple Folk 4.

[2]Scribner, For the Sake of Simple Folk 4.

[3] Fritz Saxl, Lectures (London: Warburg Institute, University of London, 1957) 67. This type of representation of the zodiacal man continued to be used in farmer's almanacs well into the twentieth century.

[4]Saxl 75. These early representations illustrated the movements of the planets in the most literal of terms, such as the planetary god tumbling to indicate the descent of the planet in the celestial sphere.

[5]Saxl 76.

[6]Saxl 76. Mercury's association with the scholar was derived from his identification as Hermes Trismegistus, the author of mystical writings, and with Thot, the Egyptian god of learning.

[7]"Saturn as ruler of the year 1492."

[8] Köhler attributes this pamphlet to Pamphilius Gengenbach, writing under the pseudonym Doctor Nemo, meaning "Doctor Nobody".

[9] James Hall, Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art (London: John Murray Ltd., 1993) 231; 257; 289.

[10] The inscription on the image refers to Psalm 184, an error by the printer. It is likely that the inscription is meant to refer to Psalm 84, which concludes "O Lord of hosts, blessed is the man that trusteth in thee." This reflects a similar message as those imparted in the three additional biblical references: trust and faith in God shall protect the pious from earthly disaster.

[11] Ewa Chojecka, Astronomische und Astrologische Darstellungen und Deutung bei Kunsthistorischen Betrachtungen alter Wissenschaftlicher Illustrationen des 15. bis 17. Jahrhunderts (Berlin: Deutscher Verlager Wissenschaften, 1967) 71.

[12] The title illustration of one pamphlet issued by Virdung in 1523 does not follow the type of woodcut found in his other publications concerning the conjunction of 1524. Rather than depicting the temporal realm or the celestial sphere, only a simple astrological chart was included on the cover, illustrating the relationships of the planets in the celestial houses predicted for 1524.

[13]Scribner, For the Sake of Simple Folk 110.

[14] Aby Warburg, "Heidnische-antike Weissagung in Wort und Bild zu Luthers Zeiten," Ausgewahlte Schriften und Wurdigungen (Baden-Baden: v. Koerner, 1980) 230.

[15] Charles Talbot, "Prints and the Definitive Image," Print and Culture in the Renaissance: Essays on the Advent of Printing in Europe, Gerald Tyson and Sylvia Wagonheim (Newark, New Jersey: Associated University Press, 1986) 199.

*Chapter 5*
***Propaganda, Popular Belief, and Signs of the End***

The popular fear that the conjunction of 1524 foretold the beginning of the end of historical time was supported not only by the woodcuts illustrating popular publications, but also by contemporary events. Religious, political and social issues suggested meanings elevating their immediate context into a comprehensive scheme of divine providence; thus, the events of one's own time were viewed as having both personal importance, and importance within Christian history. Typically, interpretation of contemporary events rationalized a course of action taken by religious and political figures: scholars and clergymen sought to validate current events, supported their patrons in triumph and defeat, and recommended future measures to ensure the safety and salvation of their nation.[1] The issue of these interpretations into the public sphere in the form of popular publications strongly affected the community's understanding of the times. It allowed the community to become informed of the events surrounding them, to become involved by collectively reviewing the issues, and to reach a common agreement as to their importance.

The formation of public opinion, fostering a consensus within the community, extended the interpretation of worldly events beyond the realm of the affluent and social elite; it included the lower and middle classes within the scheme of Christian history, and allowed for their participation in public and political action. Pamphlets often provided relevant material; however, other communication methods were equally important in forming a collective outlook.[2] At its most basic level, public opinion was created locally; neighborhood incidents of misfortune, conflict, scandal, and crime provided topics for community gossip and discussion. On a larger scale, public opinion was dissipated through regional transactions, such as the daily travel of peddlers, preachers, and merchants. These individuals transported not only the pamphlets containing important news, but gossip from neighboring towns, adding to

the wealth of information available, and expanding the creation of popular opinion to a regional level. At both levels, oral and printed communication were of significance: within this system of disseminating information, diverse opinions and interpretations of current events were made available nationally, beyond the confines of the village or city. The printed word provided an articulated, standardized message about contemporary issues, and circulated far more widely than oral communication was. The formation of public opinion, however, depended upon oral means. Discussion of the issues presented in print drew in the participation of individuals in the local communities, and aroused feelings of unease, fear, and hope, sentiments which undoubtedly influenced common beliefs.[3]

In the sixteenth century, the combination of printed and oral communication methods enabled important news to reach a vast range of communities at an unprecedented speed. As noted, the volume of information circulated increased considerably, and raised public awareness of the important issues of the time. In the early sixteenth century, these issues involved both individual members of the political and religious elite, as well as the public. Antipathy towards Rome, the blasphemous practices of the Catholic clergy, and the increasing threat of Turkish invaders created widespread fears over the future of the Christian nations, the danger heightened through prophecies and pamphlets addressing these issues.

Over the course of the first decades of the sixteenth century, the number of prophecies circulated in print increased considerably, reflecting contemporary concerns and interpreting historical evidence and recent occurrences as signs of God's displeasure with the affairs of men. So great was the concern that encyclopedias listing such prodigious signs were compiled as proof of divine wrath, and the imminent emergence of the Antichrist. Their primary prophetical texts announcing the Last Days were derived from the Bible. Chapter twenty of the Revelation of Saint John describes Christ's Second Coming, at which time He will cast Satan into a pit

for one-thousand years and rule the Millennium in the New Jerusalem, with the souls of the martyrs and true believers at his side. At the close of the Millennium, Satan will again be released into the world, in the form of Gog and Magog, and engage in final battle with Christian forces. The ultimate victory of Christ will vanquish Satan and evil, after which the souls of the dead shall be resurrected in Final Judgement, and either welcomed into the kingdom of Heaven, or doomed to eternal punishment for their sins. The language of the biblical text, couched in supernatural imagery and numerological symbolism, freed the event from being restricted to any one instant in time. This passage, therefore, opened the door to a vast array of interpretations, relevant to contemporary circumstances. Indeed, Revelation became an essential text for interpreting political events. Further validation was found in the response of Christ when his disciples asked how they would know the time of His coming, and the end of temporal history. He answered in Matthew 24:3-8: "You will hear of wars and of rumors of wars;... nation will rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom, and there will be famines and pestilences and earthquakes in diverse places. All these are the beginnings of sorrows."

Numerous scholars approached Revelations and other passages of the Bible as guides to their own age; certain of these interpretations were revived and circulated for centuries to follow. One of the most influential interpretations was provided in the thirteenth century by Joachim of Fiore, who proposed an historical division of seven periods, paralleling the seven seals of Revelation, and the three Ages of the Trinity.[4] The first Age, which corresponded to the Father and the Old Testament, was believed to have been inaugurated with the creation of Adam, lasting until the Incarnation of Christ. The second Age was that of the Son and the New Testament; the third was the Age of the Holy Ghost, guided by both the Old and New Testaments. Joachim believed that the third Age had already begun, and that his own day was that of the sixth seal.[5] The age of the seventh seal would bring the final

battle between Christ and the Antichrist, the climax of the third Age. Joachim's prophecies, which remained popular until well into the sixteenth century, exhibited the tradition of pessimism and doom; the close of temporal history would indeed be plagued with disaster and suffering, the consequences of earthly sin and the emergence of the Antichrist. A measure of hope appeared in the prophecy. Joachim believed that these trials would be but precursors to a glorious age in which the goodness of the Church and humanity would be revived, the Christian nation reunited under the glory of Christ, that a Christian utopia would arise within historical time.

Of primary importance in all prophecies concerning the Last Days was the arrival of the Antichrist into the world, as his appearance indisputably indicated that the Second Coming of Christ, and Final Judgement of Christian souls were close at hand. The relationship between the Antichrist and the Last Days was vague, but again, the Bible provided the essential material concerning the emergence of the Antichrist. Passages taken from Daniel, and I John, for example, asserted that the diabolical figure was to precede Christ's coming, bringing chaos and calamity to Christian lands. Interpretations of the signs of the Antichrist were met with both support and dispute among theologians. A general consensus developed concerning certain characteristics, notably his arrogance, blasphemy, and perversion of Christian doctrine. Other aspects, however, proved somewhat more ambiguous, inciting much debate. First, there was some question as to the exact nature of the Antichrist; on the one hand he was regarded as an individual entity, and conversely, as a collective one. Furthermore, some argued that the defeat of the Antichrist would be followed by the Millennium, believed to be Christ's reign in the New Jerusalem for one-thousand years. Yet others believed that his defeat would be immediately followed by the end of the world, and Final Judgement. This debate allowed extensive speculation concerning one's own day; contemporary events could be read always as signals of the emergence of the dreaded figure. Many theologians found evidence that the

Antichrist already walked among men, while others argued that he had not yet come, although he might soon appear.

Predictions as to the arrival of the Antichrist were, therefore, frequent. John of Lübeck offered such a prediction in 1474, arguing that the event could be foretold in the stars. To support this claim, he quotes the *Ovidius de vetula*, which stated that religious change and the advent of prophets were influenced by conjunctions of the superior planets, and thus could be predicted by the movements of the heavenly bodies. He cautions his readers against seeking celestial signs of the coming of Christ, because Christ was not subject to the influence of the stars as other prophets were. Lübeck based his prognostication upon the vernal equinox and the planetary alignments of 1504.[6] He predicted that a mean conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter would occur on March 10 of that year, at approximately 6:05 pm.; this would be followed by the true conjunction on June 9, at 11:58 pm. He concludes that this indicates the coming of a Jewish Messiah and lunar prophet, who will be born on September 13, 1506 at 10:07 pm. to a deaf Jewish virgin, impregnated by a demon. This figure would reach the climax of his power in 1530, having seduced many followers with false miracles and wonders that would seem supernatural to the public, but which in truth, would be tricks and lies. Finally, Lübeck proposes that this false messiah indicates the encroaching end of time, which will witness a deluge of fire. In support of his prediction, he offers the words of Antonius de Monte of Ulm, who said that the Christian faith would survive until a conjunction brought together Jupiter and the Moon, "whence will result a faith and prophet removing every cult and sect and corrupting the Christian faith by suspension."[7]

In contrast to Lübeck's pessimistic prediction, other prophecies offered hope for the near future with predictions of the emergence of prophets who would defend the Christian faith against aggressors. Among the most popular figures to appear in such prophecies were the prophets Elijah and Enoch. Again, evidence of their return

was sought in scripture, especially in reference to Elijah,[8] as Christ had said "Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord" (Malachi 4:5). Elijah was thus seen as one of the final signs of the beginning of the Final Days, sent into the world to battle the depravity of the Church, convert the unbelievers, and defend the Christian Empire from the evil wrought by the Antichrist.

Another popular element in optimistic prophecies was the figure of the Last Emperor, who would restore unity between the empire and the Church before the Second Coming. This prediction gained popularity primarily in Germany during the conflicts between the papacy and the Hohenstaufen in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Dreams of the German-Roman Empire, reaching across Europe with the support of the papacy were not quickly forgotten because prophecies regarding the return of Emperor Frederick continued to circulate well into the sixteenth century. Among the most popular prophecies to include such hopes was that of Johannes Lichtenberger, whose 1488 *Pronosticatio* has been discussed in some detail. At the height of his career, Lichtenberger was the devoted court astrologer of Emperor Frederick III. Lichtenberger based his predictions upon a conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in Scorpio, in 1484. From this celestial event he proposes future events concerning the Church, the Empire, and the infidels. He foresees the rise of false prophets, who would entice Christians with lies, and bring confusion into the world, but he retains belief in the arrival of an Angelic Pope, and a Last Emperor, who would restore order to the Christian nation.[9] Lichtenberger derives his primary elements from other astrologers and theologians, most notably Paul of Middleburg, Conrad Heingarter, Alexander von Roes, Joachim of Fiore. At times he plagiarizes word by word, but Lichtenberger also offers an original compilation of a vast array of influences and expectations, arguing their relevance to his own time. He firmly believes that prophecies derived from other sources are applicable to men of his day

and he views his patron, Frederick III, as the fulfillment of the Last Emperor prophecy. Although this interpretation proved false, the astrologer refused to dismiss his predictions. Instead, he applied them to the successor to the Imperial throne, Maximilian I, and later, to Maximilian's son Philip. Lichtenberger's conviction becomes evident in Book II, chapter 16, of the *Pronosticatio* in which he states, "It says in *The Book of Frankish Kings* that it will be from the Carolingians, that is from the race of King Charles of France, that an emperor named P. will arise in the last days. He will be a prince and a monarch and will reform the churches of all Europe. After him there will be no other emperor."[10] Lichtenberger asserts that Philip, as the son of German and French parents, would fulfill this prophecy and inaugurate an age of peace and unity.

Scripture did not offer the hope of a Last Emperor, an impossibility prior to the conversion of Constantine. In the following centuries, however, as the future of the Holy Roman Empire became inextricably tied with that of the Church, the development of such prophecies generated hope and understanding of imperial events. Lichtenberger's application of the prophecy to the new Emperors of the Habsburg dynasty reflected the faith which many held for the future of Habsburg rule. Therefore, his *Pronosticatio* became increasingly popular in spite of public disappointment in his later predictions.[11] Even as his predictions for the Last Emperor proved false, other elements of his 1488 work continued to be circulated, commented upon, and reused in later prophecies. Among the most influential of these was Lichtenberger's prediction of a false prophet. In the face of the growing controversy between Luther and the Church, this prophecy was applied to, and by, both Catholic and Reform leaders. The vagueness of Lichtenberger, typical of prophetical literature, allowed for the identification of the false prophet in either camp, and was exploited to its fullest extent.[12]

Another prophecy circulated by Lichtenberger in his *Pronosticatio* dealt with the evil forces of the Turks, which threatened the borders of the Christian Empire. Lichtenberger predicted that the Turks would breach the borders of Germany, and conquer Cologne. Although he gave no specific date for the dreaded day, such a threat demanded serious consideration and attention. Islam had posed a threat to Christian lands as early as the seventh century, and continued to present an imposing force against Christian security. Within the Christian concept of eschatology, Islam was equated with either the forces of the Antichrist, Gog and Magog, or their immediate predecessors.[13] The fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453 appeared to support this belief, and seemed to foretell imminent disaster for the fate of the Christian empire as a whole. In the following decades, although the Infidels made no further great conquests, the fear that the armies of the Antichrist would overrun Christian lands intensified.

The Augsburg cleric Wolfgang Aytinger articulated the fear of Islam and popular equation of its power with the end of time in his *Commentary on Methodius*, first published in 1496. In 1498, Sebastian Brant reissued the treatise in an illustrated version that remained popular until the last quarter of the sixteenth century. Aytinger believed that the Turkish conquest of Constantinople indicated that the final age prior to the Second Coming of Christ had begun. Furthermore, he predicted that its evil reign would continue, bringing suffering and destruction to Christian lands until they were defeated by the Last Emperor, which he believed would occur in 1509. In support of his argument, he sought evidence within the Revelations of Saint John. In chapter five of his treatise, he writes:

> *The root and origin of the Turks are illustrated by the seven branches and how the eighth branch, thought to be the most powerful, will be cut off by the king of the Romans.* The fourth point is clear through John in the seventeenth chapter when he says: "This is the meaning which gives understanding: the seven heads are seven mountains"

> (17:9), that is, seven kingdoms. In my intention it signifies seven Turkish emperors who succeed each other in rule. The first is called Ottoman.... The sixth emperor, called Mohammed, obtained the eastern empire and the rule of Constantinople and died in 1491. Under his son who is now reigning the Turkish empire will end. Hence John says at the end of chapter seventeen: "The beast which once was and now is not, is the eighth beast and yet one of the seven, and will be destroyed."[14]

Through Aytinger, the relevance of the Turks became evident within Christian history. Their alliance with the forces of the Antichrist was sealed by their equation with the seven-headed beast of Revelation. Aytinger furthered this notion by equating Turkey with the Whore of Babylon, "drunk with the blood of the saints and martyrs of Jesus."[15] Hope for the near future was available in the treatise, however. Aytinger derived from the work of Saint Methodius the prediction that the Turkish threat will be vanquished by either a German or French king: German, because the seat of the Roman Empire stood within Germany; French, because the Legend of Charlemagne stated that a descendent of the French King, by the name of P., will emerge in the Last Days and rule all of Europe. Aytinger derived a third possibility from his examinations of Methodius, that of a king of Hungary who would restore eastern lands to the dominion of Christ. In analyzing these three possible heroes, the theologian placed his hopes upon two contemporary men: Philip of Burgundy, who accounted for both German and French elements, and Ladislaus, King of Hungary, Poland, and Bohemia. Aytinger's prophecies, like Lichtenberger's, were unfulfilled.

The threat of the Infidels remained intense, although between 1512 and 1520, conflicts with the Turks were restricted to relatively minor skirmishes and border raids under the reign of Selim I, Mohammed's grandson and successor. During this time, the Turkish nation concentrated its efforts on expansion into eastern regions, including Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. When Selim died in 1520, Islam had grown into an impressive empire; Selim's son, Suleiman the Magnificent, intended to expand this empire even further, and gathered his armies to march against Hungary.

In 1521, Belgrade, the key Hungarian fortress along the Danube, fell to the Turks. Suleiman did not press his advantage into the rest of Hungary at this time, and his campaign into the Hungarian region would not resume until 1526. Instead, he turned towards the eastern Mediterranean, seizing Rhodes in 1522, evicting the Knights of Saint John, an old crusading order. Prior to these events, Maximilian, who died in 1519, had promoted a united effort for the final expulsion of the Turks from Christian regions, culminating in the recapture of Constantinople. His proposal, modeled after the crusades, did not receive support from political or religious leaders, although the notion of a Christian crusade against the Infidels became increasingly popular among humanists, intellectuals, and undoubtedly, among the public as well.[16] Pamphlets were circulated in support of such efforts, even prior to the capture of Belgrade. Following Suleiman's initial conquests, the circulation of *Türkenbüchlein* rapidly increased, and incited a special reaction in Germany, due to the proximity of eastern armies.[17] The public anxieties concerning the imminent peril presented by the Turks were expressed in a variety of pamphlets, including theological treatises and popular songs. All publications encouraged prayer and religious reform in aid of protecting Christian lands.

The presence of the Turkish forces on Christian soil provided powerful evidence of God's displeasure and the imminence of the Last Days. Additional evidence was found closer to home, in the form of unnatural phenomena and apparitions within the Christian community. Occurrences such as misbirths, celestial formations, disease, and natural calamities were endowed with a supernatural significance in this prescientific age. Whatever could not be explained by natural means was taken as an omen of God's anger with the state of earthly affairs. Frequently, these signs were given additional significance as they were read within contemporary political and religious contexts. The meteor of Ensisheim in 1492, previously discussed, was regarded as an omen concerning the advancement of the

Turkish forces. Avidly chronicled and circulated in popular publications, these events appealed to the popular imagination not only due to their bizarre nature but also as factual evidence of the omnipotence of the divine.

Supernatural phenomena, which incited both public curiosity and fear, were readily associated with the forces of evil. Nature was believed to be the creation of God; desecration of the natural world was, therefore, the creation of the devil, permitted within the world as evidence of God's displeasure.[18] Similarly, celestial apparitions and strange phenomena from the heavens were viewed as divine omens. Joseph Grünpeck expounded upon a bizarre celestial occurrence in his *Speculum* of 1508. He begins his account by reminding the reader of the celestial omens witnessed in history, such as blood raining from the heavens, and battles waged in the clouds. He proceeds to recount a recent event of 1503, in which crosses came forth from the sky and fell onto the clothes of those below. This incident, believed to have started in the Low Countries and proceeded down the Rhine, was interpreted by Grünpeck as a divine warning against the desecration of the Christian faith, but at the same time he offers an optimistic view of the event: the crosses were signs of God's divine grace, and if one observed a pious life, God would grant eternal salvation.

Deformities and unnatural births constituted the majority of miraculous events published in popular media, and captured the greatest interest among the public.[19] Sebastian Brant was among the most effective authors to exploit this type of news for political and religious purposes. In 1496 he issued an illustrated broadsheet, in both Latin and the vernacular, featuring the abnormal birth of a sow in Landser (Fig. 36). Above the explanatory text, a small image depicts the unfortunate creature, born with one head, and two bodies. The small town in the distance is identified as Landser by a superscription, thus locating the event within German territory. Brant addresses his discussion to Emperor Maximilian, stating that the dreadful creature should be understood as a divine warning against the "supremacy of pig-like men", whom he

identified as the Turks, "who are like brothers to pigs."[20] Here, the broadsheet functions as a vehicle to encourage action against the Infidels. The necessity of these measures were conveyed to the public by associating foreign armies with perversions of God's creation.

An unnatural birth in 1512 prompted the publication of another illustrated broadsheet (Fig. 37a-b). In this case, however, the curiosity was prompted by the birth of Siamese twin girls, Elizabeth and Margarete, in Ertingarten. In this anonymous publication, the image has been pasted into the sheet, providing a view of the deformed twins from both front and back, and emphasizing the aberration and horror of the birth. Like Brant, the author of the publication equates the abnormal birth with the wickedness of the Turk, and encourages Maximilian to launch an attack against the Turkish forces in Greece.

Illustrated pamphlets and broadsheets that expounded upon unnatural phenomena circulated widely within the public sphere in the first decades of the sixteenth century.[9] Popular printed media and their political and religious interpretations had become common by 1520, and they did not lose the public's interest over time. In fact, the publication of bizarre apparitions and abnormal deformities increased during the initial years of the Reformation. This type of publication lent itself well to the religious campaigns launched by both Catholic and Protestant supporters, especially after Luther had publicly identified the Pope with the Antichrist.[21]

Illustrated pamphlets and other popular publications were actively employed by Luther and his supporters; they were quick to recognize the potential of the print medium and took full advantage of the opportunity to circulate their views on reform. Their messages, articulated in both text and image, ensured that the information could be made available to the widest numbers possible. Reformers included specific types of imagery in printed media; the most effective were adapted from images

already popular with the public. Luther and his supporters capitalized on existing pictorial language by investing familiar images with a religious agenda. In this way they would influence the public's opinion not only concerning the current state of affairs within the papacy but also concerning their own efforts towards reform. Therefore, the interpretation of monsters and unnatural births were removed from the realm of the Turk, and placed into the camp of the Roman Church.

Among the most effective, and most blatant of this propaganda was an illustrated pamphlet issued by Philipp Melanchthon and Martin Luther in 1523, *The Papal Ass of Rome* and *The Monk Calf of Freyburg* (Figs. 38-39). The pamphlet contained two images produced from the workshop of Lucas Cranach, a supporter of the reform efforts. The title page illustration depicts a deformed calf, believed to have been born in Freyburg in 1522. The calf quickly came to be identified as the "monk calf", as its features were likened to the dress of the Catholic clergy: its bald-patched head resembled the monk's tonsure, and the flap of skin upon its back was similar to the cowl. In the text, Luther further explains that the posture of the calf, with one leg extended, was comparable to the preaching methods of the Catholic clergy, the protruding tongue was a sign of the lies and foolishness promoted by the Roman Church, and the flaps of skin on the head were an indication of the practice of confession. The text's other illustration depicts a monstrous creature, the Papal Ass, that was said to have been dredged from the Tiber River in 1496. The unusual creature, which exhibited the features of both a mule and a serpent, quickly became associated with the papacy, as it made its appearance in the capital of the Roman Church. The discovery of the creature had prompted criticism of Pope Alexander VI at that time. The Papal Ass was revived within Lutheran polemic; the papal association in the woodcut is further enforced through the presence of the papal flag and the structures in the background. Alexander had employed the Castel Sant'Angelo, represented on the left, as a fortification, and the Torre di Nona, on the

right, as the papal prison. Although Alexander had long since passed away, the papal associations of these buildings were still strong. In this pamphlet, condemnation of the practices endorsed by the pope would have been clearly evident in the woodcut.

During periods in which aggressive pronouncements against the papacy were especially dangerous, reformers employed a more subtle means of conveying criticism comprehensible to the public, for example, the association of Catholic leaders with animals. Such a case of hybridization appears in an illustrated broadsheet, issued in 1521 (Fig. 40). The illustration, which occupies the greater part of the publication, depicts five animals attired in the robes suited to their prospective positions within the Church.[22] Pope Leo X, transformed into a lion, stands in the center. He wears the papal tiara, while his tongue protrudes from his monstrous jaws. He holds a coin, which the text explains as a symbol that money can buy off all sins, reflecting the notion that the pope is rapacious. On the far left, stands Thomas Murner, represented as a cat with a mouse in his mouth. The supporting text explains that the papal revolt has taken the doctor on as a mouser. Between him and the pope, stands Jerome Emser, who, according to the text, was as lecherous as a goat, behavior unbefitting a man of God. To the far right, Jacob Lemp, an Evangelist, is represented as an angry dog, greedily clutching a bone, and to his left, stands Johannes Eck, transformed into a pig, scrounging in filth with a purse and an acorn clasped in his hand. The identification of these Catholic leaders is solidified by the inscription of their names above; the brief text below explains that the depiction of these figures is a reflection of their demeanor at a disputation in Zurich which had proven to be disastrous for the Catholic position.

This type of caricature became a standard method of reformers, and subsequent broadsheets and pamphlets were adapted to suit the current circumstances. A later example, a pamphlet issued in 1522, includes many of the original figures, but altered the representation by providing each beast with a full

body (Fig. 41). Murner and Emser reappear in this image in their original transformations of cat and goat; however, their companions have changed to suit the times.[23] Eck, to the far left, is no longer represented as a pig; rather, he has become a prelate adorned with donkey's ears, but remains identifiable by the acorn branch he grasps. The lion no longer represents Leo X, as the Pope had died in the previous year. Here, his place has been taken by the papal nuncio Aleander, a prominent representative of the Catholic Church within Germany. The bizarre group is accompanied by an ass, dressed in the robes of a monk and playing a fiddle, and another unusual creature in the background.[24] The message of the image is clear: the Catholic Church is more concerned with the indulgence of worldly pleasures than with teaching the Word of God, upon which the figures trample and dance. Their unchristian behavior is further emphasized by the swarm of bees above, a reference to the beehive as a symbol of the Church. The two magpies below symbolize idle talk.

Another manner of attack launched at the Catholic Church was more directly related to Luther's identification of the Pope with the Antichrist. Luther did not draw this conclusion immediately, nor with haste. Initially, Luther followed traditional avenues of exploration in an interpretation of apocalyptic events and the emergence of the Antichrist, which he expected at an unspecified date in the future. In his further examinations and reflections upon the practices of the Catholic Church, especially once the debate had grown to heated controversy between himself and the papacy, Luther began to speculate upon the possibility of the Antichrist's presence within Rome. In March of 1519, as he prepared for a disputation with Johannes Eck, he voiced his concerns to a confidant, although he was as yet unsure whether the Pope was a disciple of God, or an agent of the Antichrist.[25] He formed his conclusion upon the receipt of the papal bull *Exsurge Domine*, which had threatened him with immediate excommunication. In response, Luther issued *Adversus Execrabilem Antichristi Bullam*, which declared his belief that the Pope was indeed

the Antichrist. Later, he revised this opinion; the Antichrist was not merely a single papal figure, but the entire papal institution. The sinful behavior of the clergy, the blasphemous practices which they promoted among Christians, and the desecration of the Word of God provided ample proof of the papal association with the forces of the Antichrist, and the plague of evil he would spread throughout the world.

The most important and explicit publication to reflect this identification was the *Passional Christi und Antichristi* by Lucas Cranach and Philipp Melanchthon in 1521. This explosive pamphlet, discussed in detail in chapter two, reinforced the notion of the Pope as Antichrist, and rapidly spread this belief throughout Germany. The contrast between the pious life of Christ and the indulgent lifestyle of the papacy, repeatedly emphasized throughout the twenty-six illustrations, left little doubt as to the fate that awaited those who followed the example set by the Catholic Church. This message was further impressed upon the public through references to the Church as the Ship of Saint Peter. This image was most likely derived from Luke's account of the miraculous draught of fish.[26] In this story, Christ instructs his disciples from a fishing boat, and asks Simon Peter to cast out his net into the sea. Simon is hesitant, as not a single fish had been netted that day, yet he does as Christ requests and catches a shoal of fish. In response to their shame and amazement, Christ comforts his followers, announcing that they shall be the fishers of men. Another connotation was likely derived from Noah's Arc, which provided safety, shelter, and salvation to a chosen few of God's creatures during the Universal Deluge.[27] By the early sixteenth century, the reference had become common. In the early years of the Reformation, its message was subverted from its original connotations of salvation brought through the Church of Rome, to the idea that the Church now threatened destruction for its followers. An undated broadsheet issued in the early 1520's illustrates the extent to which this notion was being presented by Protestant supporters (Fig. 42). The woodcut, which occupies the majority of the broadsheet, depicts four ships, the one in

the center on the right bearing the papal arms. Each of the vessels teem with members of the Catholic clergy, while the common folk flounder in the sea, scrambling to reach the ships for safety. They are refused boarding, however, with rare exception: those who are able may exchange an earthly possession for admittance to the ship, while the others are left to be drawn in the enormous nets cast into the sea.[28] The message of the image is further emphasized by the four winds in the top left corner which provide the ships below with their impetus: impiety, hypocrisy, idolatry, and superstition, identified by their inscriptions. At the top right a group of Christian Fathers witnesses the misguided activities below, expressing their sorrow at the defiled state of their beloved Church. In contrast to the Catholic ships in the foreground, overflowing with members of the clergy, a fifth ship appears in the background to the left. This vessel, which bears no arms nor insignia, has room enough for all who wish to enter, but has not yet been noticed by the many who struggle for survival in the thrashing waves. Furthermore, this single ship, alone in the distance, seems to be repelled by the very winds that empower those of the Catholic Church. The message of the text, although simplistic in comparison to the visual imagery it accompanies, explains that the Roman Church is reserved for the clergy, and the common man is considered only insofar as he may be exploited.[29] In such publications, the Ship of Saint Peter, the Catholic Church, was converted from the means of salvation, to the self-serving vessel driven by hypocrisy, idolatry, superstition and impiety.

In the onslaught of information and allegations published in the early sixteenth century concerning the future state of the Roman Church and Christian faith, the vehicles of meaning would have been readily identifiable by the common man. In each of the issues discussed here, terms of arguments were derived from the sphere of popular culture: festivals, hybridizations, and superstitions were established cultural systems that could be converted to politico-religious agendas, and remain

within the access of both the educated, and the illiterate members of the community.[30] The purpose of this cultural subversion was not merely amusement of the public, or emphasis on the ingenuity of the authors and artists involved. On the contrary, publications were intended to inform the public and forewarn them of imminent disaster.

In this respect, popular publications were successful, both on their own, and in combination. Their messages corresponded to apprehensions and concerns already prevalent in the public mind. Furthermore, the messages of the pamphlets and broadsheets were reinforced by other relevant news. The revival and reinterpretation of prophetic literature concerning the Last Days and the emergence of the Antichrist, the subsequent identification of the Turkish armies with the forces of evil, the miraculous and supernatural events that were witnessed both in the heavens and in the temporal realm, and finally, the unequivocal break of Luther and his supporters from the Catholic Church, all events of individual importance, collectively reinforced the contemporary sense of fatalism. Together they located the end of historical time within people's own time. Within this era of social, political and religious turbulence, all of the primary elements foretold for the Last Days were in evidence.

In this context, the public reception of pamphlets issued concerning the conjunction of 1524 was undoubtedly influenced by the other concerns. The printed media articulated the prevalent fears, and fostered a consensual opinion regarding the imminence of the threat. The evidence provided in astrological prophecies, pamphlets and *Türckenbüchlein* apparently supported a public conclusion that the end was nigh. Again, although the textual description of the grand conjunction of 1524 did not suggest a universal deluge, many predictions implied that floods could be expected in some regions. In the majority of cases, however, this message was contradicted by their gloomy illustrations. In view of the widespread decay of the Church of Rome, the conclusion that the end of historical time, and the ensuing Final

Judgement of Christian souls would be inaugurated by the grand conjunction of 1524 was not so far fetched. Indeed, the belief was far more difficult to disprove than it was to support.

[1] Bernard McGinn, Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979) 32.

[2]Scribner, Popular Culture 64.

[3]Köhler, 'Astrologi Hallucinati' 65.

[4]Thomas Arthur Dughi, "The Breath of Christ's Mouth: Apocalypse and Prophecy in Early Reformation Ideology," diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1990, 37.

[5]Dughi 37.

[6] Lynn Thorndike, "Three Astrological Predictions," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 26 (1963): 346.

[7]Thorndike, "Three Astrological Predictions" 346.

[8] Robin Barnes, Prophecy and Gnosis: Apocalypticism in the Wake of the Lutheran Reformation (Stanford: Stanford Unversity Press, 1988) 25.

[9]Kurze, "Prophecy and History" 64.

[10]McGinn 273.

[11]Kurze, "Prophecy and History" 63.

[12]Kurze, 'Astrologi Hallucinati' 192.

[13]McGinn 34.

[14]McGinn 274-75.

[15]McGinn 275.

[16] John Bohnstedt, "The Infidel Scourge of God: The Turkish Menace as seen by German Pamphleteers of the Reformation Era," Transactions of the American Philosophical Society ns 58 part 9 (1958): 9.

[17]Bohnstedt 10.

[18] Christiane Andersson, "Popular Imagery in German Reformation Broadsheets," Print and Culture in the Renaissance: Essays on the Advent of Printing in Europe, eds. Gerald Tyson and Sylvia Wagonheim (Newark, New Jersey: Associated

University Press, 1986) 129.

[19]Andersson, New Perspectives 43.

[20]Andersson, Print and Culture 122.

[21]Andersson, New Perspectives 47.

[22]Andersson, Print and Culture 129.

[23]Andersson, Print and Culture 48.

[24]Andersson, Print and Culture 48. No identification has been made of the sixth figure in the background.

[25] Hans J. Hillerbrand, "The Antichrist in the Early German Reformation: Reflections on Theology and Propaganda," in Germania Illustrata: Essays on Early Modern Germany Presented to Gerald Strauss, Andrew Fix and Susan Karant-Nunn editors. Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies 18 (1992): 6.

[26]Scribner, For the Sake of Simple Folk 106.

[27]Scribner, For the Sake of Simple Folk 108.

[28]Scribner, For the Sake of Simple Folk 112.

[29]Scribner, For the Sake of Simple Folk 111-12.

[30]Scribner, For the Sake of Simple Folk 94.

*Chapter 6*
*Conclusions*

In the early decades of the sixteenth century, a complex combination of events became intertwined in the public imagination, creating an apocalyptic mood predisposed to belief that the end of historical time was quickly approaching. Discord between political leaders, the ever-present threat of the Infidel, and a growing dissatisfaction of religious practices merged, leaving a fatalistic view of the immediate future in its wake. As the security of social and religious institutions appeared to decline, answers to problems were sought in the planetary bodies believed to be employed by God to fulfill his divine plan. The stars held a manipulable wealth of information. They provided the necessary guides for the success of everyday activities such as the planting of crops, the application of medical procedures, and the indication of what opportunities and misfortunes the individual may face during his lifetime. Similarly, the heavens could give warning of events to come: the consequences of provoking God's displeasure.

Calendars, practica, and almanacs provided forecasts of the expected celestial movements for the year, in addition to interpretations of what these movements entailed for humans. Prior to the development of moveable type, this information was circulated primarily by oral methods. Merchants, peddlers, and preachers supplied the necessary information, which was then discussed, interpreted, and rationalized within the community. The printing press revolutionized the provision of information. By the end of the fifteenth century, every major center boasted at least one printing shop, a development affecting both the information process, and the intellectual climate of the community. The technology of the print industry and the value of the material produced granted the printer a status previously unheard of for men of trade.[1] His shop constituted a new intellectual element within the community, bringing together craftsmen, merchants, and intellectuals. Therefore, the

public accepted information in print as an authoritative source, equal to that provided verbally by merchants and preachers. Indeed, the very nature of the print medium seemed to prove the truth of the message contained.

The increasing number of vernacular publications quickly gained mass appeal, and became as important to the informative process as earlier methods had been. The relatively low cost of the illustrated broadsheet, estimated between four and eight pfennig, made the medium available to most members of the community.[2] Pamphlets and broadsheets did not eliminate previous forms of communication, but rather incorporated them into the dissipation of these popular publications. Literacy rates remained relatively low. Those who could not read or afford the cheap publications could still receive the essential information in community discussions at local inns and other common places.[3]

The illustrations of pamphlets and broadsheets were invaluable to the success of these publications. Woodcuts offered an affordable alternative to other forms of graphic material such as engravings. They were not merely decorative additions to the pamphlet and broadsheet, but informative as well, supplying the illiterate with another means of acquiring the basic intent of the pamphlet.[4] The accessibility of these images was heightened by their graphic simplicity, and by the subjects represented. The woodcuts were often drawn and carved by local artisans who, most likely, were illiterate. They made use of comon cultural elements such as folklore and satire, adapting these familiar ideas to what they understood about the text.[5]

The illustrations remained as important in the discussions as the text, as they offered additional clues to the importance of the matters at hand. For the first time, individuals separated by great distances could receive the same basic, elemental information, without the risk of exaggeration and embellishment detracting from the essence of the message prior to reaching the community. This shift did not eliminate the possibility of fatalistic rumors arising from the information. In fact, small

publications were often accused of inciting unrest and anxiety in the public sphere by exploiting contemporary fears in both text and image.[6] These anxieties were undoubtedly heightened through local discussion, in addition to rumors and gossip still circulated between communities by tradesmen and preachers.

Within this atmosphere of print, discourse, and visual images, the fears of the grand conjunction of 1524 were developed. The movements of the heavens, planetary alignments, celestial apparitions and eclipses had become standard features of the pamphlet and broadsheet industry in the fifteenth century, bringing news of what could be expected in the coming years. By the early years of the sixteenth century a common astrological language had been developed for public consumption; although the complicated calculations involved were excluded, the individual had access to the material through visual representations of the planets, and symbols indicative of the various manifestations of planetary alignments. Conjunctions were of primary interest as they indicated not only impending weather forecasts, but also great historical events such as the death of rulers and the change of political institutions. The most significant temporal events were indicated in years of the grand conjunction, the meeting of Saturn, Jupiter and Mars.

The rarest form of planetary alignment, occurring only once every twenty years, the grand conjunction excited especial attention from astrologers and theologians.[7] The grand conjunction of 1524, first forecast by the astrologers Johannes Stoeffler and Jacob Pflaum in 1499, was to be the last of its kind to take place in the watery triplicity. This event was believed to mark not only the completion of the planetary cycle in that triplicity, but also the completion of the 960-year period, as future conjunctions would enter the fiery houses. The completion of this cycle in 1524, compounded by the prediction of sixteen additional conjunctions in Pisces for that year, led to great trepidation over the immediate future. Within the

public mind, the grand conjunction signified not only the end of an historical epoch, but the final approach of the Last Days.

In popular belief, the temporal effects of the grand conjunction included apocalyptic elements derived from Joachimite prophecies, such as the appearance of the Last Emperor and of prophets who would lead the battle against the forces of evil prior to Christ's Second Coming. Stoeffler and Pflaum did not include such portents in their ephemerides, nor did subsequent practica concerning the alignment. Many predictions, however, did include localized flooding, bloodshed, and political and religious upheaval. Such predictions were not uncommon in astrological interpretation, but in the early years of the sixteenth century these portents became intertwined with earlier prophecies, current events, and popular rumor, creating an increasingly pessimistic public outlook for the year 1524. Johannes Lichtenberger's *Pronosticatio*, first published in 1488, was widely quoted concerning the expected effects of 1524. He foretold the coming of two false prophets, to be overcome by the Last Emperor. Although Lichtenberger anticipated the arrival of these ominous figures prior to 1499, public opinion continued to expect these events, especially in view of the growing tensions within the Church. Indeed, Lichtenberger's prophecies became invaluable to both Catholic and Lutheran propaganda, each firmly locating these false prophets within the opposing camp.

Another aspect of Lichtenberger's treatise appeared especially relevant in the days approaching the grand conjunction. The astrologer believed that the advance of the Turkish forces were proof that the Last Days were imminent.[8] Wolfgang Aytinger, in 1496, directly connected the Turk with the seven-headed beast of the Apocalypse, a sign that the end truly was at hand. This belief remained strong, even during the first twenty years of the sixteenth century when Turkish troops had seemingly retreated. The Infidel had become a powerful threat to the safety of Christian realm as early as the seventh century; unlike any other enemy Christianity

had faced, it truly appeared to be in league with the Antichrist, either as the Evil One's own armies, or as their precursors.[9] The Turkish presence on sacred soil together with their successful campaigns, confirmed the belief that the Apocalypse was fast approaching. Many believed that their success had been allowed by God in punishment for the depravity of Christian practices.

The Turkish threat was not the only sign interpreted as evidence of God's anger. Abnormal births and celestial apparitions, popular subjects for broadsheets, were interpreted in terms of contemporary events. As omens of God's displeasure with the state of affairs on Earth, these bizarre events were given political and religious importance. Often, an author's political aims guided his interpretations, and used them to support in his recommendations to the State and Church. The most effective use of monstrous births and apparitions appears in the Lutheran reform movement. Images such as the *Monk Calf* and the *Papal Ass*, published together in a pamphlet in 1523, associated monstrous beings with sins committed by the Catholic Church, obvious omens that reform was an immediate necessity. Popular superstition and religious anxiety ensured that these beasts indicated the decline of religious practices, and the sins of mankind.

The reform movement also made extensive use of the press in direct arguments against the policies of the papacy. By 1520, Luther had been excommunicated, and had reacted in kind with an excommunication of the Pope, and a condemnation of his office. As Luther's conflict with the papacy intensified, so did the publication of controversial tracts. Luther's views were publicized in the popular media, as were those of both his supporters and opponents. Protestant efforts more expediciously adopted popular cultural elements, such as the woodcut and satire, and through these reached a wide audience. Publications such as the *Passional Christi und Antichristi* in 1521, reinforced Luther's identification of the papacy as the Antichrist. The accusation was bolstered by excerpts from the Book of Daniel and

other scripture, and conclusively delivered by direct visual comparisons of the life of Christ, simple and pious, and the sinful, self-indulgent ways of the Pope and his minions.

As the fateful year of 1524 approached, debate over the immediate future accelerated. The various struggles facing the Christian world were viewed not as isolated events, each with an importance all its own, but together, each an integral element of the greater scheme of God's divine plan. Within the popular imagination, very little seemed to refute the belief that the Last Days were at hand, and that all men would soon face their final Judgement. In 1520 the Turks crowned a new emperor, Suleiman, and once again public fears were roused that the Turks might soon turn their full attention back to conquering Christian lands. This fear was realized in 1521, when Belgrade fell. At the same time the common man witnessed what appeared to be a breakdown of the Catholic Church. Luther's excommunication fueled, rather than eliminated, the threat to the established religious order. Rumors flew, locating the forces of the Antichrist within both camps; for either perspective, it appeared that the darkness of evil had invaded the sanctity of religious institutions. Additional proof came in the form of misbirths and celestial omens, direct indications of God's displeasure.

In view of these foreboding signs abounding in the first decades of the sixteenth century, it is perhaps not surprising that the grand conjunction of 1524 was believed to indicate the approach of the Last Days, nor that the controversy centered in Germany, where the effects of the Reformation were most closely felt.[10] The establishment of the press had allowed increased dissemination of astrological information. However, oral communication was responsible for the rumor of a second universal flood that circulated throughout other communities, creating a widespread panic that the age of the Apocalypse had arrived.[11] Popular belief held that just as the fiery triplicity was believed to hail the beginning of Christian

history,[12] the watery triplicity was believed to indicate its end. The grand conjunction in Pisces was to be the last of its kind in the watery trigon; in the popular imagination, this event signified not only the close of the 960-year revolution of the alignments, but the final approach of the Apocalypse, and the final destruction of the world in the form of a second deluge.

As these rumors of a universal flood spread and public anxiety increased, astrologers issued practica and annual predictions with the intention of dispelling the public's fear. First addressed by Albertus Pigghius and Agostino Nifo in 1519, astrological pamphlets concerning the alignment continued to be published well into the fateful year, 1524. None of the authors involved in the debate supported the notion of a second universal deluge. Indeed, many attempted to pacify the public by reminding them of God's promise to Noah, in the form of the rainbow, that the world would never again witness the devastation of a universal flood. Because the predictions were often guided by the author's religious sympathies, two basic types of interpretations can be identified.[13] Those who were in support of the established religious order offered consolatory predictions of the conjunction, reducing the effects to localized areas, and suggesting that future catastrophes may be minimized through prayer and repentance. The predictions stemming from Lutheran supporters were more alarming. Although they did not support belief in a universal flood any more than did Catholic astrologers, their predictions often entailed a much more pessimistic view of the immediate future, including severe rains, flooding, wars and bloodshed unlike any in history. Yet Luther's supporters, too, offered a solution. Reform was not only beneficial, but of dire urgency; conversion would return the Christian faith to its true path, while those who did not reform their ways in accordance with Lutheran teaching would suffer greatly.

Like other popular publications, the pamphlets concerning the conjunction made extensive use of images to convey the message of the text. Astrology had

developed a pictorial language that could be easily identified and read by the common folk; in the years approaching 1524, this language was altered to suit contemporary needs. In most cases, the image removed the planetary figures from the celestial realm, placing them within the temporal sphere, and thereby impressing their power and influence upon the viewer's own world. The immediacy of the alignment was stressed as the focus of the image was removed from the planetary gods themselves, to the actual effects the planets would impose upon Earth.

Those who wrote in support of the Catholic Church promoted their consolatory messages in both image and text. Their predictions, which greatly minimized the disastrous effects of the conjunction, were supported through images of a peaceful, contented world, aimed to pacify the public's concerns not only with respect to the conjunction, but also with regards to the future of the Catholic Church. This image refuted the belief that God's anger was so severe that it demanded such widespread destruction, and further implied that the path taken by the papacy was indeed the correct path to peace and salvation.

In contrast, the pamphlets by authors in support of the reform movement promoted the conjunction as a warning against the papacy. These authors did not suggest that the Apocalypse was indicated by the alignment; God had no need of conjunctions or other celestial apparitions as announcements of such an important event. Rather, the conjunction evidenced God's anger with the Church. The images of the pamphlets illustrated the calamities that would be generated by the alignment: terrible floods washing away people and homes, violent conflicts between nobility, papacy, and peasantry, and horrific showers of stone, water, and fire from the heavens.

The illustrations of the pamphlets partly reflect the authors' predictions: pacifists employed images of a happy, contented world, whereas supporters of the reform movement employed depictions of earthly calamity and destruction. Both

types reverted to an older, topographical type of image, which brought the celestial impact within the proximity of the viewer's own world. However, the dramatic, sensationalistic images of the Protestant pamphlets likely attracted greater attention, not only corresponding with the public's worst fears, but also confirming them. They were visual proof, provided by trusted astrologers and publishers, that the Last Days were at hand.

Discrepancies between the intention of the text and the implications of the images may be explained by the publishing process itself. Publishers primarily commissioned images for the works produced by their shop, and often they reused older images, already in their possession, or bought from other printers. This practice could account for the duplication of the image found in Alexander Seitz's pamphlet of 1520, and Johann Carion's of 1522, both published by Erhard Oeglin in Augsburg. Similarly, the duplication of images in pamphlets by Joseph Grünpeck, Johannes Copp, and Johann Carion may result from their origin in the shop of Wolfgang Stöckel in Leipzig. While reuse of images may have been more expedient and cost-effective, making do with what was at hand possibly led to discrepancy between the intended messages of image and text. Similarly, the original intention of the woodcut might not correspond to that of subsequent publications, putting the message of the image at odds with its later use, though differences in text may be subtle. Furthermore, images initially published within a specific context became invested with new connotations by the public sphere.

Although the publisher may have been the source of discrepancies between image and text in conjunction pamphlets, additional relevant points must be considered. Both Catholic and reformist pamphlets, regardless of their city of publication, were consistent in the type of images employed, reflecting the author's support or criticism of the Catholic Church. Furthermore, the primary issue governing the use of images was not the predicted effects of the planetary alignment,

but rather the religious interpretations of the author. This focus is especially evident in two of the pamphlets written by Johannes Copp, an avid supporter of the Lutheran movement. Copp's predictions were among the most fatalistic. Even though he made no universal or apocalyptic implications, Copp foretold great inundations and terrible bloodshed, reflected dramatically in many of his images. However, the pamphlet of 1522, in which the armies of Christ are shown battling the Catholic clergy emerging from the city's walls, avoids this type of image. Rather than reflecting the astrological content of the text, Copp illustrates both the cause and the solution to the temporal problems creating the catastrophic impact of the grand conjunction. Copp's image displays no direct relation to the effects of the conjunction; rather, it reflects the author's interpretation that the event should be read as a dire warning of the blasphemous teachings of the Catholic Church. Copp's pamphlet of 1523 may be viewed similarly. The images of the pamphlet, originally published in Grünpeck's works, illustrate the threats posed by the Catholic Church. The chosen images had expressed Grünpeck's recommendations for religious reform, but in Copp's pamphlets these warnings become condemnations of the Catholic clergy's debasement of the Word of God.

The pamphlet debate had begun with an aim to reassure the public that the Apocalypse was not at hand, that the flood was not to be universal, and that there was no cause for immediate panic. As the controversy between Luther and the papacy intensified, however, flood literature was invested with greater propagandistic meaning. Some authors attempted to reassure the masses that their faith in the Catholic Church was not misguided; others proclaimed the truth of Luther's efforts arguing that radical religious reform was not only beneficial, but necessary for salvation. Yet, whatever the religious intentions of the authors, the images selected for the pamphlets concerning the conjunction of 1524 apparently contradicted the text. Regardless of the evidence offered against the possibility of a second deluge,

current events appeared to support the belief, and in an age predisposed to superstition and fatalism, the images of the flood pamphlets left a powerful, lasting impression on the common man.

Despite causing such intense anxiety, the fateful year passed with little event. The flood did not come, although some rumors were circulated in Italy that Germany had in fact been ravaged by flood,[14] deemed by Catholics to be divine punishment for Luther's heretical practices. Some astrologers revised their earlier predictions, while others, such as Gaurico, denied their participation in the flood debate. In spite of the safe passing of 1524, public anxiety over the immediate future continued. Miraculous births and celestial apparitions were still associated with contemporary events, and the strife between Luther and the Church continued to be reported and exploited in pamphlets. The threat of the Infidel, too, remained a primary issue in popular publications. Turkish atrocities sensationalized in images continued to dominate the popular imagination (Fig. 43). Similarly, the heavens were still read portentously. Indeed, the belief that the stars could forewarn great historical moments remained an aspect of astrological prediction until the close of the century; Tommaso Campanella wrote his *Articuli prophetales* in anticipation of a complete rejuvenation of Christianity, which he believed would be hailed by the grand conjunction of 1603.[15]

Although belief in astrology remained strong, the images included in astrological publications underwent a change in the years following 1524. Rather than investing immediacy and severity in images, illustrations revert to an earlier type in which the impact of the celestial events is distanced from the viewer, reducing the effects of public panic. A practica published by Johann Carion in 1526, *Bedeütnus vn offenbarung warer himlischer Influxion des Hocherfarnen*,[16] provides two illustrations, neither resembling the catastrophic scenes of his earlier works. Although the title illustration is located within the temporal realm, rather than

illustrating the effects of the celestial movements, the image depicts an astrologer, alone in his contemplation of the Sun and Moon above (Fig. 44a). The second image of the pamphlet personifies two planets, accompanied by the Sun (Fig. 44b). The identity of the figures is unclear in the image; it may possibly represent Mars in confrontation with Jupiter, although the figures do not fall within the traditional depiction of either of the planetary gods. The important aspect to note, however, is that the earthly realm remains distanced from the immediate presence of the gods by a swirl of clouds. The title illustration of a later practica, *Bedeütnus vnd offenbarung warer hymlischer Influxion des Hocherfarnen Magistri Johannis Charionis*,[17] issued by Carion in 1530, further reduces the celestial gods' proximity to the temporal realm (Fig. 45). Rather than planetary personifications, the image depicts a battle in the center of an astrological chart mapping the symbols of the planets and zodiacal signs in their expected combinations. Although no banners, insignia, or shields identify the factions, the costumes imply that the battle waged is between nobility, on the left, and peasant, on the right, perhaps in reference to the Peasant War of 1525. Johann Virdung, too, changed the imagery employed in his publications. The title illustration of his *Practica deützsch*[18] of 1530 depicts Mars, ruler of the year, accompanied by his day and night houses, Cancer and Aries (Fig. 46). As in Virdung's earlier work of 1523, Draconis is included, although no eclipses have been indicated in either the head or tail. The group to the left, led by a crowned figure, could suggest that Jupiter, in *Cauda Draconis*, will present an influence on the effects of Mars; similarly, the group to the right, with a man holding the scales, suggests that *Caput Draconis*, in the house of Libra, may also have some importance for the year. A dramatic change from the images of Virdung's practica of the early 1520's is evident; here, the image gives no indication of what the planets may have in store for those below.

The key features in astrological images in the years prior to the grand conjunction of 1524 appear to constitute an relatively short-lived trend. Pamphlet

illustrations for 1524 did not continue the traditional format which removed the danger posed by the celestial bodies from the immediacy of the viewer, but rather reversed this tradition. In many images the impact of the conjunction, shown in its greatest severity, could have reflected the viewer's own community. It has been suggested that this focus was an attempt by the authors to gain control of contemporary fears by identifying them with exact clarity, replicating them in image and text.[19] This does not adequately address the importance of the image within the pamphlet, however. Such a generalized conclusion does not consider the impact of the visual component within the public sphere, nor the possibility that the woodcut was produced, or chosen, by a third party. More likely, these images were motivated by prevalent fears and anxieties, exploited by the media to suit a specific agenda, to inspire the common man with fear for the salvation of his soul. In either event, the images developed with respect to the grand conjunction played upon the anxieties that were rampant within the popular imagination. The text which they accompanied were intended to pacify these fears by offering a road to salvation, yet the message of the text was greatly undermined by that of the image. Indeed, the common man continued to fear for his immediate future. Current events appeared to indicate that the end was nigh; the printed image rendered that fear into an inescapable vision.

[1]Eisenstein, Printing Revolution 12.

[2]Moxey 23.

[3]Pamphlets and broadsheets were frequently posted on the walls of local meeting places as decoration.

[4]Hammerstein 129. Hammerstein suggests that pamphlet illustrations were highly influential in community discussion, often leading to gloomy, pessimistic interpretations of the content of the publication.

[5]Andersson, New Perspectives 42.

[6]Hammerstein 131. Interestingly, Johannes Carion and Georg Tannstetter both argued that practicas were potentially dangerous to the public, as they often instigated fatalistic beliefs in the public sphere, and were frequently issued by printers concerned more with profits than a factual report.

[7]Garin 16.

[8]McGinn 271.

[9]McGinn 34.

[10] Scribner, For the Sake of Simple Folk 123.

[11]Scribner, Popular Culture 63.

[12]Ernst 267.

[13]Rossi 146.

[14]Rossi 146.

[15]Ernst 266. Campanella believed that the great conjunction of 1603 would be the first in the fiery trigon, and initiate the next 960-year cycle. Furthermore, because the Christian faith had its greatest period of growth during the reign of the fiery trigon, Campanella believed that the conjunction of 1603 would induct a religious renewal.

[16]In Flügschriften des Frühen 16. Jahrhunderts auf Microfiches 1244-3162.

[17]In Flügschriften des Frühen 16. Jahrhunderts auf Microfiches 965-2415.

[18]In Flügschriften des Frühen 16. Jahrhunderts auf Microfiches 1246-3167.

[19]Hammerstein 139. Hammerstein further suggests that by gaining control of these anxieties, the individual could accept such afflictions and calamities as divinely ordained and thus unavoidable, and concentrate on the correct path to salvation.

Passional Christi vnd
In yren anſehen iſt er auffgehaben vnd die wolcken haben yhn
hinweggk genommen vō yren ougen. Diſer Jeſus der von euch
yn hymmel auffgenommen iſt / werde alſo wyder kommē wie
yr yhn geſehen habe zu hymmel fharen. Act. 1. Seyn wyrdt das
ſeyn ende Luce. 1. Wer do mir diene der werde mir nach volgen
vñ wo ich bin do wirt meyn diener auch ſeyn Johā. 12.

Figure 1
Cranach Workshop, *Christ's Ascension*, in Martin Luther, *Passional Christi und Antichristi*, 1521, fol. Di v

Antichriſt.
Es iſt ergriffen die Beſtia vñ mit yr d falſch prophet der durch
ſie gezeychen thon hat do mit er vorfurdt hat/ die do beym gezeychē
von yme genommen /vnd ſein bilde angebet beyde verſenckt yn
die teuffe des fewrs vnd ſchwefels vnd beyde getodt mit dem
ſchwerde des der do ſitzt vffm weyſſen pferde/ das auß ſeynē
maul gehet. Apocal: 19. Danne wirdt offenbart werden der
ſchalckhafftige dann wirdt der herr Jeſus toetē mit dem atem
ſeyns mundes vnd wirdt yn ſturtzen durch die glori ſeyner zu
kunfft. 2. ad Teſſa. 2.

Figure 2
Cranach Workshop, *The Pope's Damnation*, in Martin Luther, *Passional Christi und Antichristi*, 1521, fol. Dii r

Figure 3
Anonymous, in Johannes Lichtenberger, *Pronosticatio*, 1492

Figure 4
Anonymous, *The Meteor of Ensisheim*, broadsheet with text by Sebastian Brant, 1492

Figure 5
Anonymous, in Wenceslai von Budweiß, *Practica*, 1492

Figure 6
Anonymous, in Wenceslai von Budweiß, *Practica*, 1496

1. 44. 5101(1.
218.
7.
Vßlegung vnd erclerung der wunder
barlichen kunftigē erschrockliche ding
die vns der Stern mit dem schwantz. den man Comet nent/ in vn
sern landen gesehen im iar M. CCCCC. vj. dyß nachvolgent iar
so man zelen wirt M. CCCCC. vij. bedeutet ist Durch den hoch
erfarnen vßleger der Stern Mayster Hansen Virdung vō Hassfurt.
Zu eren dem Durchleuchtigsten hochgebornen Fursten vnd herrn
herren Philippen Pfalzgrauē bey Rhein Kurfursten ꝛc. zu geschri
ben/ offenbart/ vnd mit hohem fleyß ergrund. ꝛc.
Mitter nacht
Erde
Comeet
Zu dem Leser diß Buchleins.
Jr menschen all vff diser erd
Got wol das ich Hassfurt lygen werd
Jnn dyser schrifft hernach gedrucke
Ich furcht es werd sunst vil gebucke
Das vffrecht wol gestanden wer
Wendent vmb vnd lesent newe mer.
BIBLIOTHECA
REGIA
MONACENSIS

Figure 7

Anonymous, title page, Johann Virdung, *Aklegung vnd erclerung der wunderbarlichen kunftige erschrockliche ding die vns der Stern mit dem schwantz*, 1507

Ein newe außlegung der seltza
men wunderzaichen vñ wunderpurden so ain zeyther im reich als vor
poten des Almechtigen gottes / auffmutzende auffrüstig beschaid
der die sündechristi vñ des heiligen reichs erschinen sein an al Kürfür
sten vñ Fürsten so auff dem reichs tag zů Costnitz versamelt sind ge
wesen vñ auch Erwirdig brüder hans Josephē Grünpeckt beschehē

Figure 8

Anonymous, title page, Joseph Grünpeck, *Ein newe außlegung der seltzamen wuuderzaichen vn wunderpurden so ain zeyther im reich als vorpoten des Almechtigen gottes*, 1507

Figure 9
Anonymous, title page, Joseph Grünpeck, *Speculum naturalis coelestis & propheticae visionis*, 1508

Ad reuerendiſſimos
et illuſtriſſimos principes ꝛ dominos
dominos Philippum & Ioannem Friſingenſ. & Ratiſponenſ. eccleſiarum Epiſcopos. Comites Palatinos rheni duces Bauarie. Salubris exhortatio Ioſephi Gruenpeck in litterariarum rerum et vniuerſorum graduum cum bonorum tam dignitatum grauiſſimam lecturam.
BIBLIOTHECA
REGIA

Figure 10

Anonymous, title page, Joseph Grünpeck, *Ad reuerendissimos et illustrimos principes & dominos dominos Philippum & Ioannem Frisingenß. & Ratisponenß. ecclesiarum Episcopos*, 1515

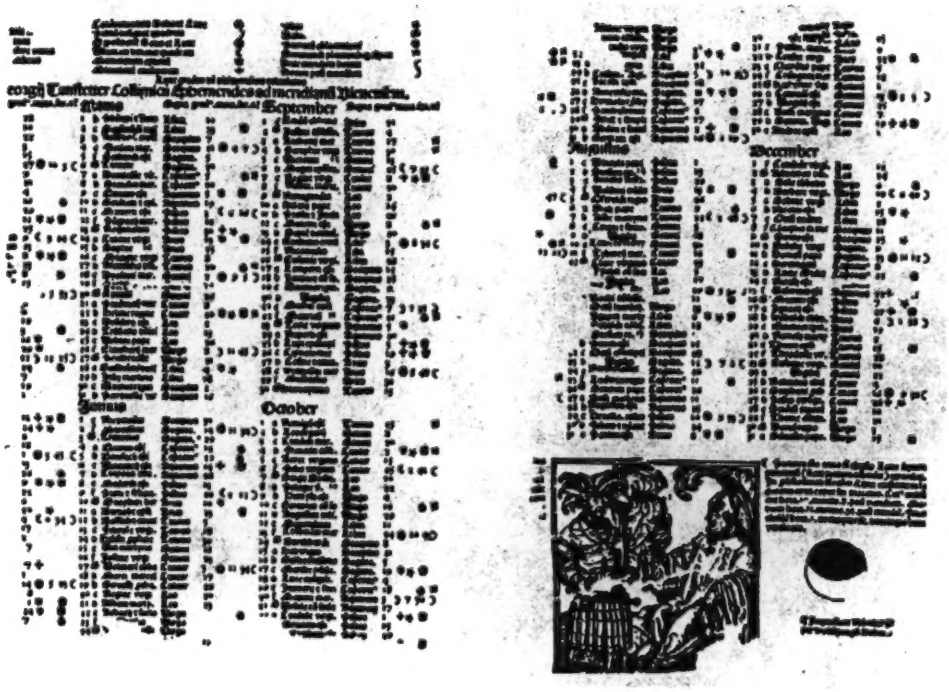


Figure 11
Anonymous, Calendar with text by Georg Tannstetter, 1509

Iudicium viennense
Anni Millesimiquingetesimi duodecimi
Ad illustrissimū principem Ludouicum Bauarie Ducem: Co
mitemq; Palatinū Rheni. Per Georgium Tannstetter Cole
limitiū artium magistrum nouiter elaboratum
Iuppiter in celis Cesar regit omnia terris.

**Figure 12**

Anonymous, title page, Georg Tannstetter, *Iudicium viennense Anni Millesimiquingetesimi duodecimi Ad illustrissimu principem Ludovicum Bavarie Ducem*, 1511

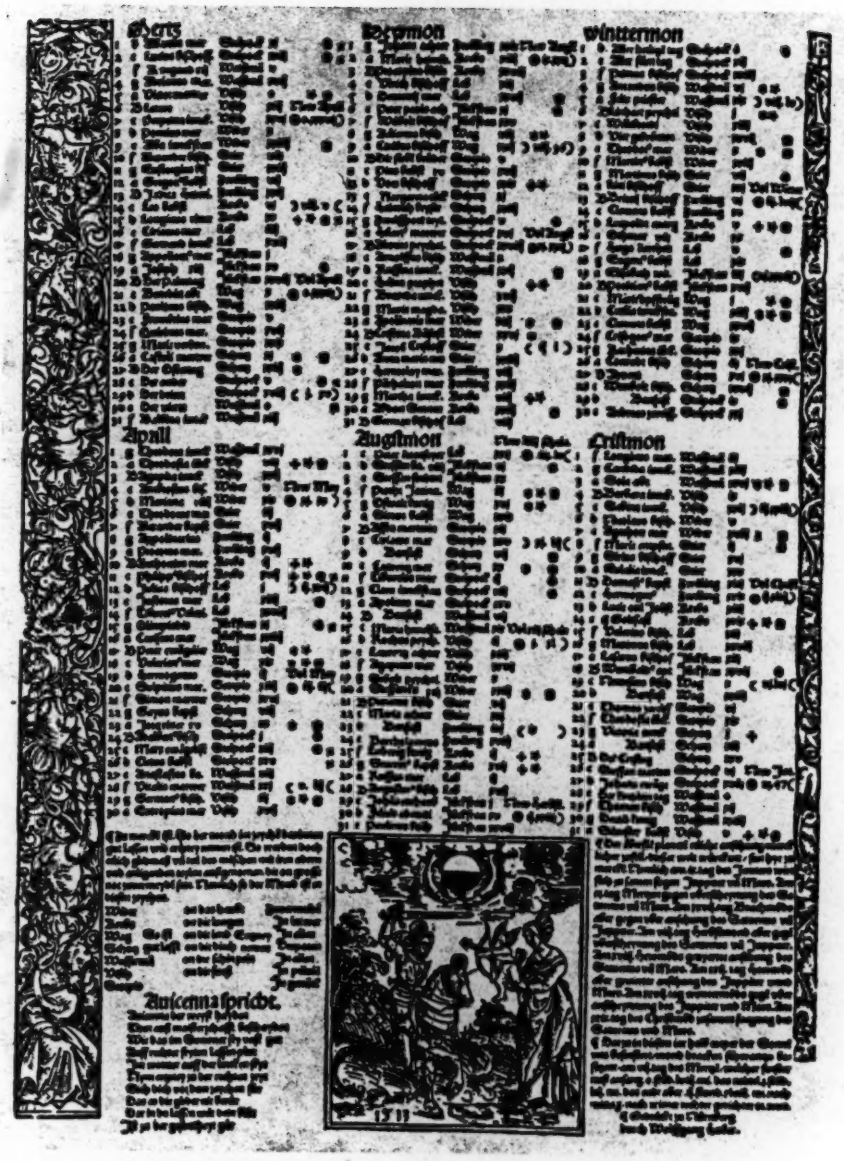



Figure 13
Anonymous, Calendar, 1513

Practica zu teütsch auff das M.
Fünff hundert vñ xvj. jare Gemacht durch doctor
Nemo/erclärend die grossen wunnderbarlichen ge-
schichten/antreffendt gaistlich vnd wellt lich.
Welcher diss Practick wöll verstan
der selb auffs ernnd gůt acht soll han
So wirt jm kurtzlich offenbar
das sy nit fallt glaub mir fürwar
Doch sech sych yeder eben für
vnglück kompt vngedacht herfür

**Figure 14**

Anonymous, title page, Pamphilius Gengenbach, *Practica zu teütsch auff das M. Fünffhundert vn xvj. jare Gemacht durch doctor Nemo erclärend die grossen wunnderbarlichen geschicten antreffendt gaistlich vnd wellt lich*, 1516

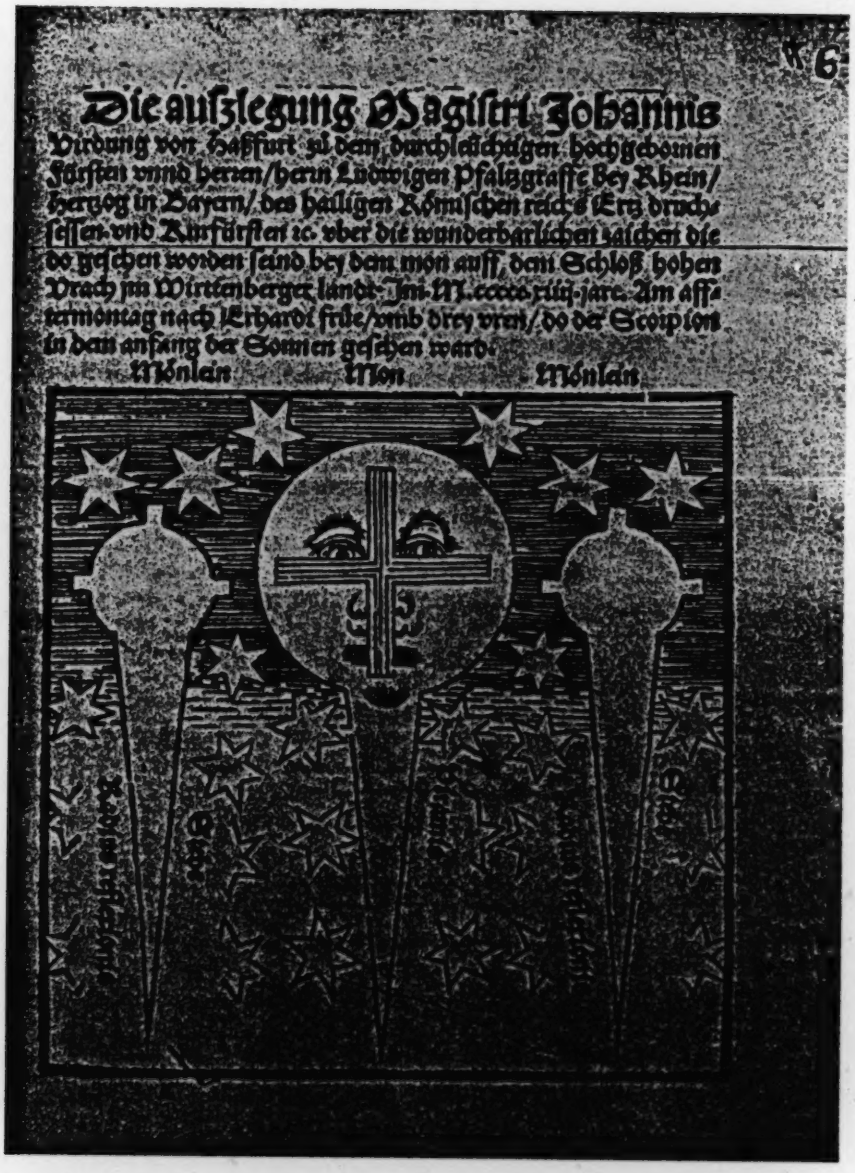

Die auszlegung Magistri Johannis
Virdung von Haßfurt zu dem durchleüchtigen hochgebornen
Fürsten vnnd herren/herrn Ludwigen Pfaltzgraffe bey Rhein/
hertzog in Bayern/ des heiligen Römischen reichs Ertz truch-
sessen vnd Churfürsten ꝛc. vber die wunderbarlichen zaichen die
do geschehen worden seind bey dem mon auff dem Schloß hohen
Vrach im Wirtenberger lande. Im M. cccc. xiij. jare. Am afft-
termontag nach Erhardi früe/vmb drey vren/ do der Scorpion
in dem anfang der Sonnen gesehen ward.
Mönlein Mon Mönlein

Figure 15
Anonymous, title page, Johann Virdung, *Die auszlegung Magistri Johannis Virdung von Haßfurt*, 1514

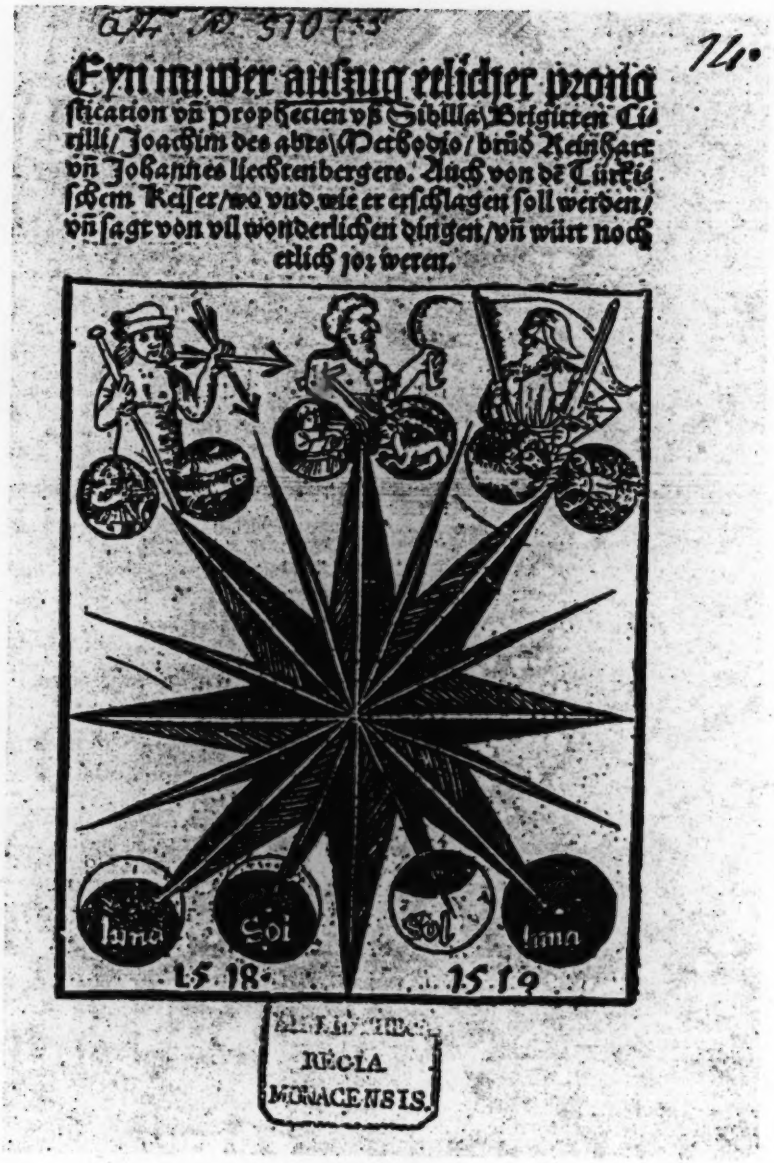

Eyn nuwer auszug etlicher pronostication vñ Prophecien vß Sibilla/Brigitten Cirilli/Joachim des abts/Methodio/bruder Reinhart vñ Johannes Lichtenbergers. Auch von dē Türkischem Keyser/wo vnd wie er erschlagen soll werden/vñ sagt von vil wonderlichen dingen/vñ würt noch etlich jor weren.
74.
luna
Sol
Sol
luna
1518
1519
REGIA
MONACENSIS.

Figure 16

Anonymous, title page, *Ein nuwer auszug etlicher pronostication vn Prophecien*, 1518

Practica Teutsch z
Leyptzig auffgericht durch den ma
Simon Eyssenman v. Dülingk auß dem einfloß des hinde
lichem los der löblichen hohen schül Leyptzigk auff des
Venus ein herrin diß jars.
1520
Ex donat. Mollicana

Figure 17
Anonymous, title page, Simon Eyssenmann, *Practica Teutsch zu Leyptzig auffgericht durch den magister Siman Eyssenmann*, 1519

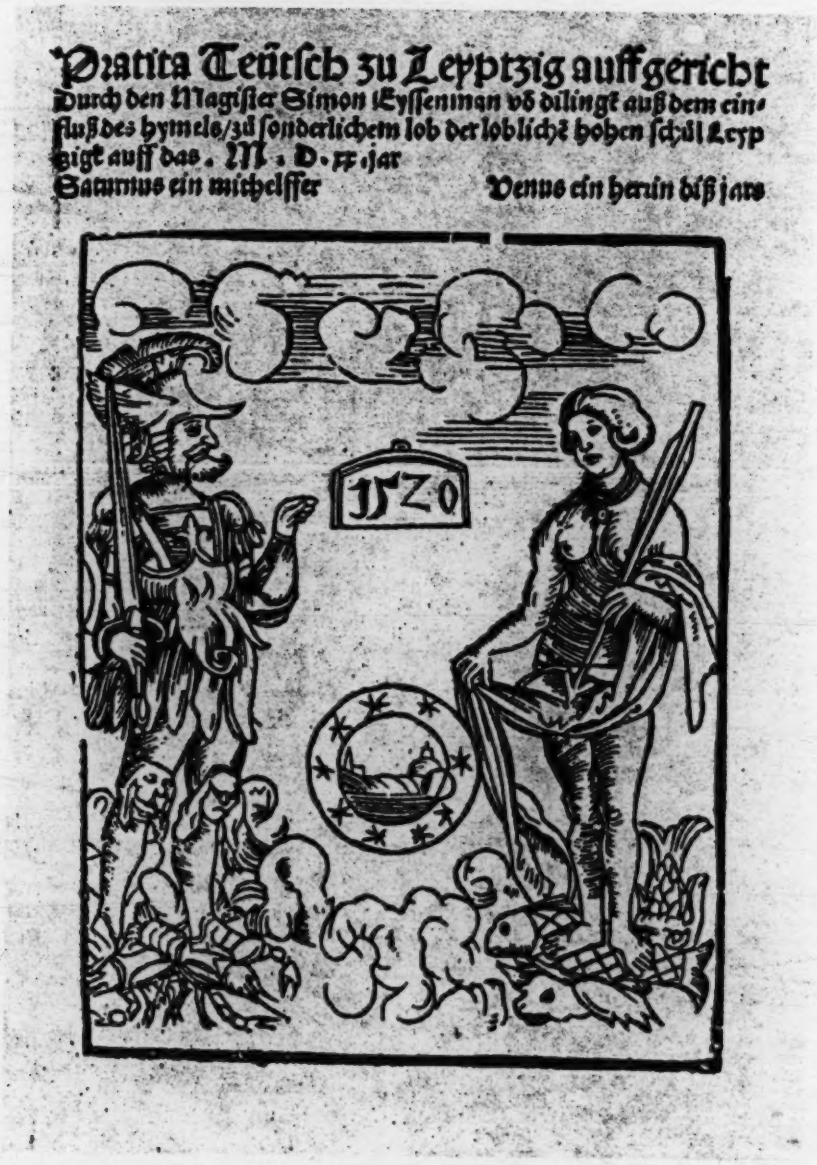

Pratita Teütſch zu Leyptzig auffgericht
Durch den Magiſter Simon Eyſſenman vō dilingē auß dem ein-
fluß des hymels/zū ſonderlichem lob der loblichē hohen ſchūl Leyp
zigk auff das . M . D . xx . jar
Saturnus ein michelffer
Venus ein herin diß jars
1520

Figure 18

Anonymous, title page, Simon Eyssenmann, *Pratica Teütsch zu Leyptzig auffgericht Durch den Magister Siman Eyssenmann*, 1519

Ein newe außlegung. Der seltzamen
wunndergzaichen vnd wunderpürden/ so ein zeyther im reich/ als
vorporten des Almechtigē gottes/ auffmonende auffrüstig zesein
wider die feindt christi vnd des heyligen reichs/ erschinen sein an
all Kürfürsten vnnd Fürsten so auff dem reichs tag zu Costnitz
versamlet sein gewesen vō einē Erwirdigē priester/ herrn Josephi
Grünpecken beschehen.

Figure 19

Anonymous, title page, Joseph Grünpeck, *Ein newe außlegung. Der seltzamen wundertzaichen vnd wunderpurden so ein zeyther im reich als vorporten des Almechtige gottes*, 1520

**Figure 20**

Anonymous, title page, Joseph Grünpeck, *Ain nutzliche betrachtung der Natürlichen hymlischen vnd prophetischen...*, 1522

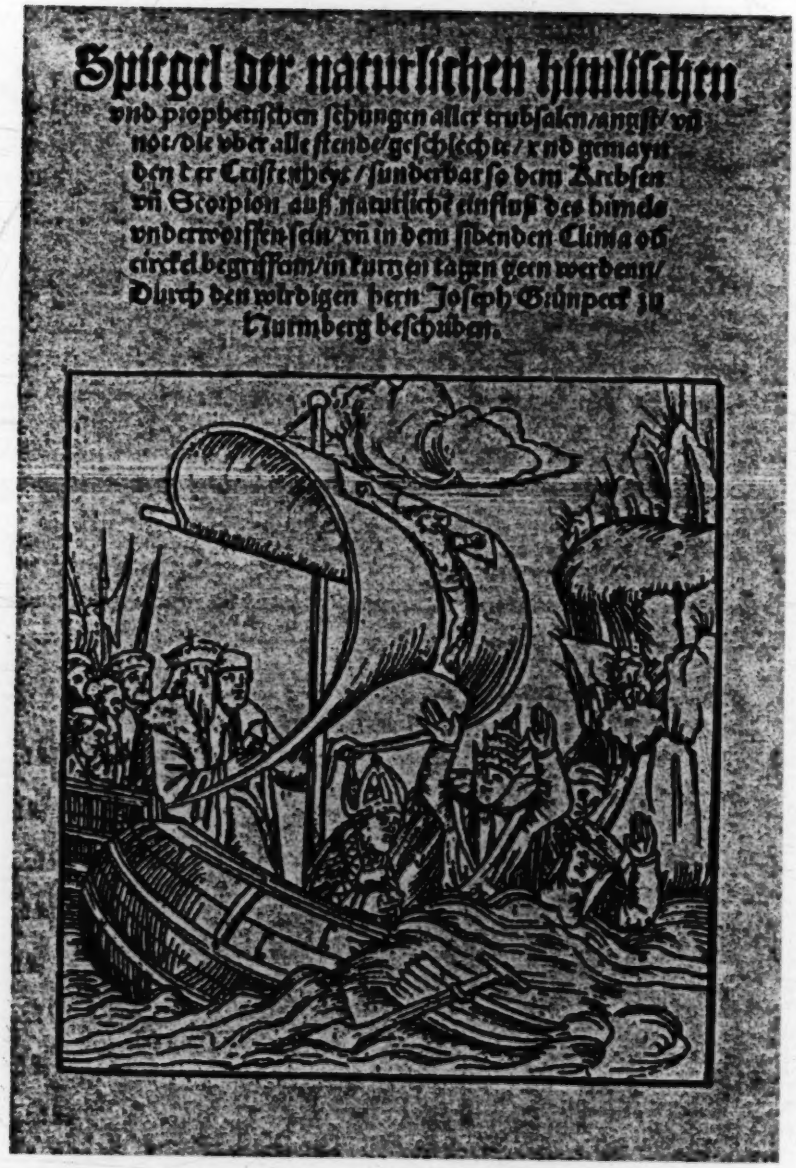

Spiegel der naturlschen himlischen
vnd prophetischen schungen aller trubsalen/angst/vñ
not/die vber alle stende/geschlechte/vnd gemayn
den ter Cristenheyt/sunderbar so dem Zirbsen
vñ Scorpion auß natürlicht einfluß des himels
vnderworffen sein/vñ in dem siebenden Clima ob
circkel begriffen/in kurtzen tagen geen werden/
Durch den wirdigen herrn Joseph Grünpeck zu
Nurmberg beschriben.

Figure 21a

Anonymous, title page, Joseph Grünpeck, *Spiegel der naturlischen himlischen vnd prophetischen...*, 1522

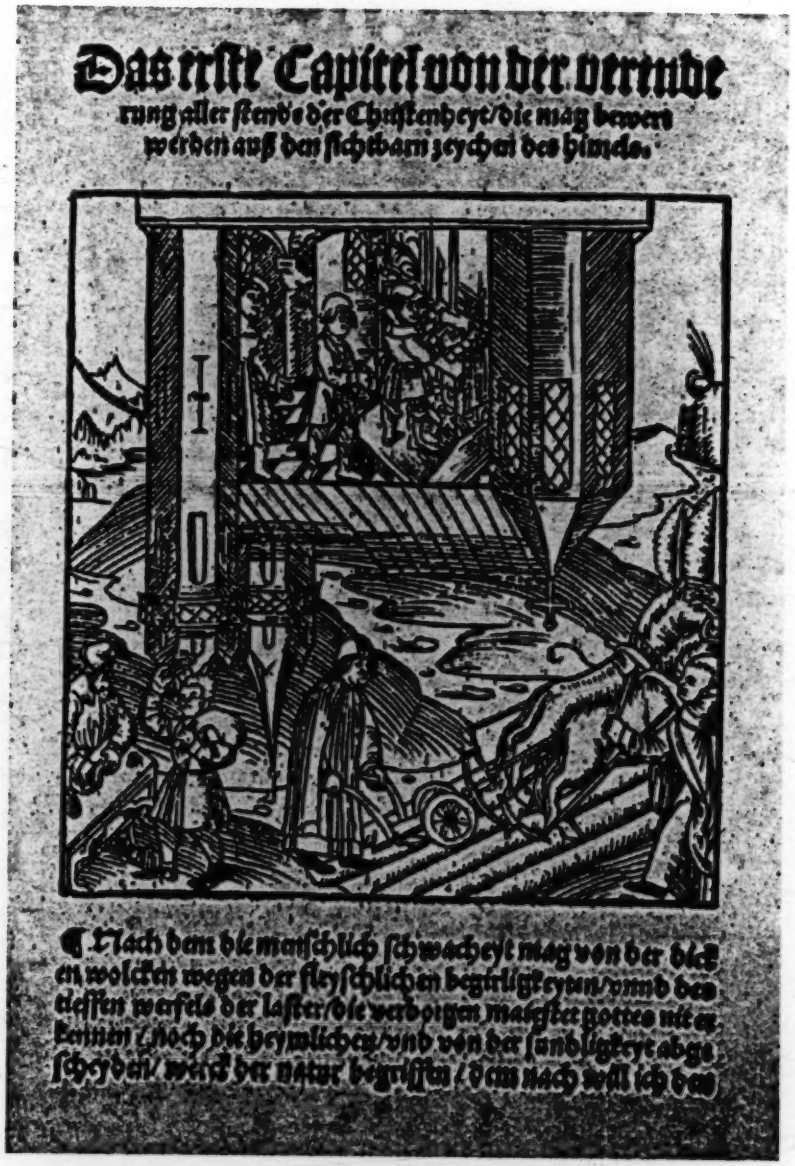

Das erſte Capitel von der verrnde
rung aller ſtende der Chriſtenheyt/die mag bewert
werden auß den ſichtbarn zeychen des himels.

Figure 21b
Anonymous, in Joseph Grünpeck, *Spiegel der naturlischen himlischen vnd prophetischen...*, 1522, n.p.

Figure 21c
Anonymous, in Joseph Grünpeck, *Spiegel der naturlischen himlischen vnd prophetischen...*, 1522, n.p.

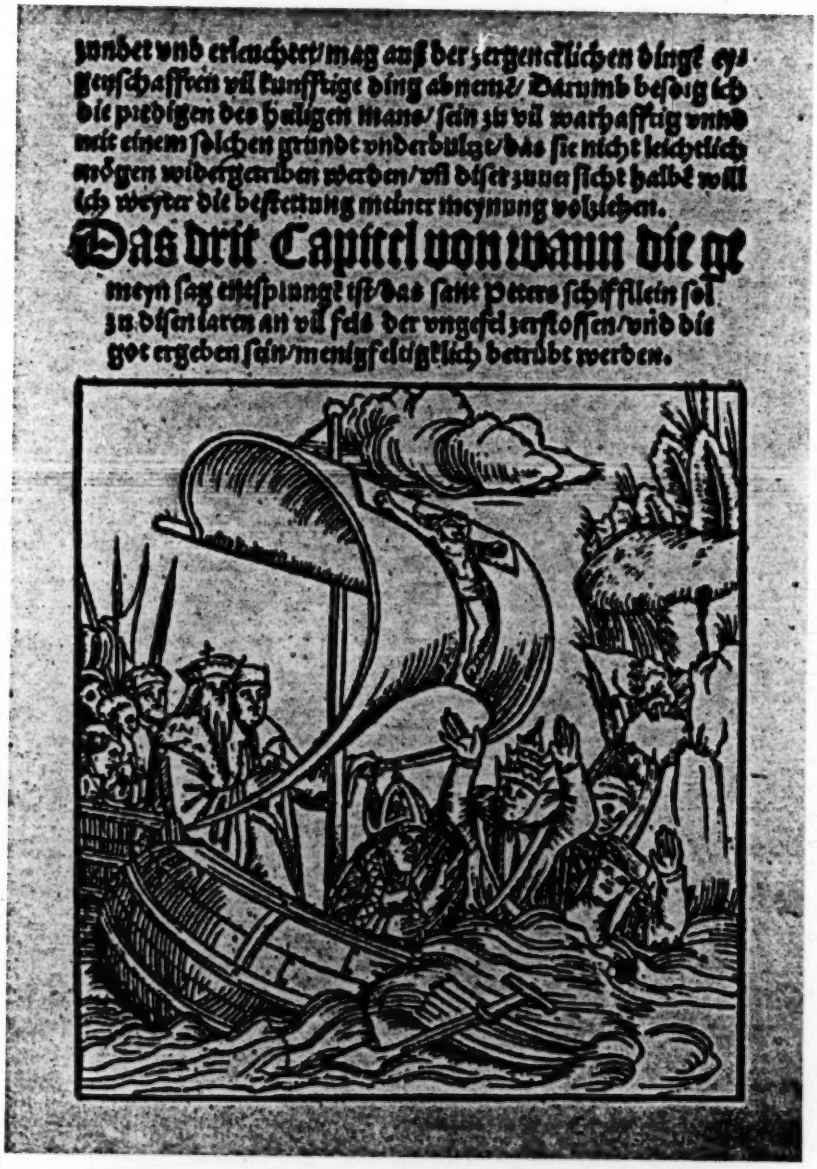

zunder vnd erleuchtet/ mag auß der zergenclichen dinge eyn
genschafften vil kunfftige ding abnemē/ Darumb beſorg ich
die predigen des heiligen mans/ ſein zu vil warhafftig vnnd
mit einem ſolchen grunde vnderbauet/ das ſie nicht leichtlich
mögen widergeriben werden/ vñ diſer zuuerſicht halbē will
ich weyter die beſtettigung meiner meynung volziehen.
Das drit Capitel von wann die gt
meyn ſatz entſpringt iſt/ das ſant Peters ſchifflein ſol
zu diſen laren an vil feld der vngefel zerſtoſſen/ vnd die
got ergeben ſein/ menigfeltiglich betrübt werden.

Figure 21d

Anonymous, in Joseph Grünpeck, *Spiegel der naturlischen himlischen vnd prophetischen...*, 1522, n.p.

Das vierdt Capittel von der betrü
bung wegen der Christenheyt/die auß verwenlichen vr
sach der bösen sitten/vnd gewonheyten der menschē
genomen mag werden.

Figure 21e
Anonymous, in Joseph Grünpeck, *Spiegel der naturlischen himlischen vnd prophetischen...*, 1522, n.p.

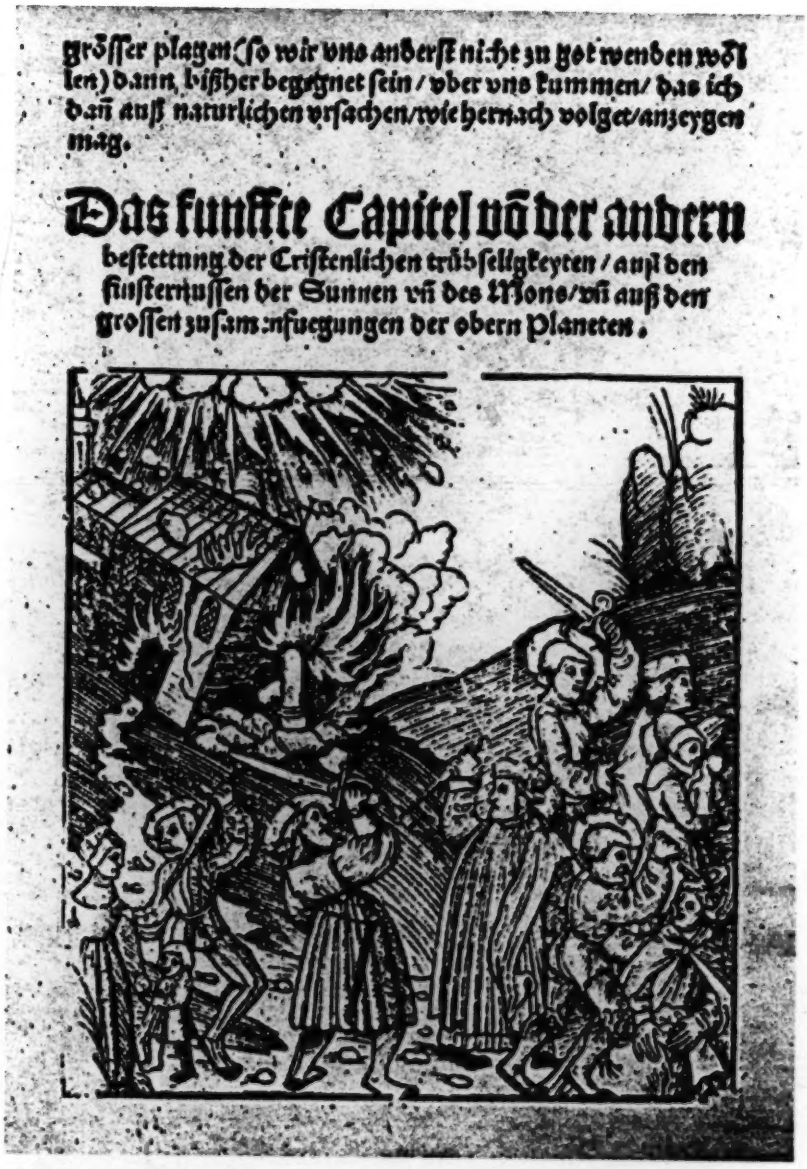

grösser plagen (so wir vns anderst nicht zu got wenden wöl
len) dann bißher begegnet sein / vber vns kummen / das ich
dann auß natürlichen vrsachen / wie hernach volget / anzeygen
mag.
Das funffte Capitel vō der andern
bestettnng der Cristenlichen trübseligkeyten / auß den
finsternussen der Sunnen vñ des Mons / vñ auß den
grossen zusamenfuegungen der obern Planeten.

Figure 21f
Anonymous, in Joseph Grünpeck, *Spiegel der naturlischen himlischen vnd prophetischen...*, 1522, n.p.

Figure 21g
Anonymous, in Joseph Grünpeck, *Spiegel der naturlischen himlischen vnd prophetischen...*, 1522, n.p.

¶ So die ewig weyßheyt durch den mundt des heyligē pro
phetē Esaie/ein solche meynung außgesprochē hat/Es ist
meim lieb ein weingart gemache worden an dem horen Su
nedes öle/Vnd er hat in mit ein zaun vmbgebē/vñ die steyn
darauß gelesen/vnd ein außerwelten weyngarten darauß ge
pflantzet/ hat auch in seiner mitte ein thurn auffgebawen/
vnd ein weinbreß darinnen auffgerichtet/vñ gewartet/das
er weynber bringen sol/Aber er hat schlehen bracht/ disteln/
vnd dörner/Darumb wil ich den zaun vñ die mawer zerrey

**Figure 21h**

Anonymous, in Joseph Grünpeck, *Spiegel der naturlischen himlischen vnd prophetischen...*, 1522, n.p.

Figure 21i
Anonymous, in Joseph Grünpeck, *Spiegel der naturlischen himlischen vnd prophetischen...*, 1522, n.p.

det/der Fürſten/vñ der ambtlewt /der tunglügen / der begir/
vñ aller reyter vnd auffſteyger der pferdt/ verſencke vñ wüe
tent zewerden/vnd ſie iſt mit irer vnlautterkeyt beflecke wor
den/Dennocht hat ſie dz ebruch/ſo in dem Egyptiſch land
volbracht iſt worden nicht verlaſſen / darumb hab ich ſie ge
geben in die hendt iret liebhaber/in die hende der Sünen der
Aſſirier/von welcher vnkeuſch ſie dan iſt wollitent worden/
die ſelbigen haben ir ſchandt geoffenbaret/ire Sün vñ Töch
ter genomen/vnd die muter mit dem ſchwerdt ertödtet/was
mag klerers dem ſchein diſer rede gefunden werdt/wie wir

Figure 21j
Anonymous, in Joseph Grünpeck, *Spiegel der naturlischen himlischen vnd prophetischen...*, 1522, n.p.

die geſtalt des golts vñ des ſilbers / allen furm̃ des wuchers
vnd der ſimoney/der lugen/der falſcheyt/ des falſchen eydes
vnd aller vngerechtigkeyt/mit welcher laſter reytzungen das
gold vberkumen wirdt/ Sie hat auch geſehen die gleychnuß d
Babiloniſchen ſunen/das iſt/die ertichtungen des falſch/vñ
der drucknngen der heiligē warheyt/weiſen vñ werſen/ da
mit ſie mit dem zeitlichē wuſchē erfullet werdē / vber diſe Sū
ne iſt ſie mit der böſen begirligkeyt irer augen wüttent wor
den/vnnd ſo die ſelbigē feyndt der tugent kumen ſein in den
gemach irer brüſt/das iſt/d verſtenliche krafft/vñ an die ſtat

Figure 21k

Anonymous, in Joseph Grünpeck, *Spiegel der naturlischen himlischen vnd prophetischen...*, 1522, n.p.

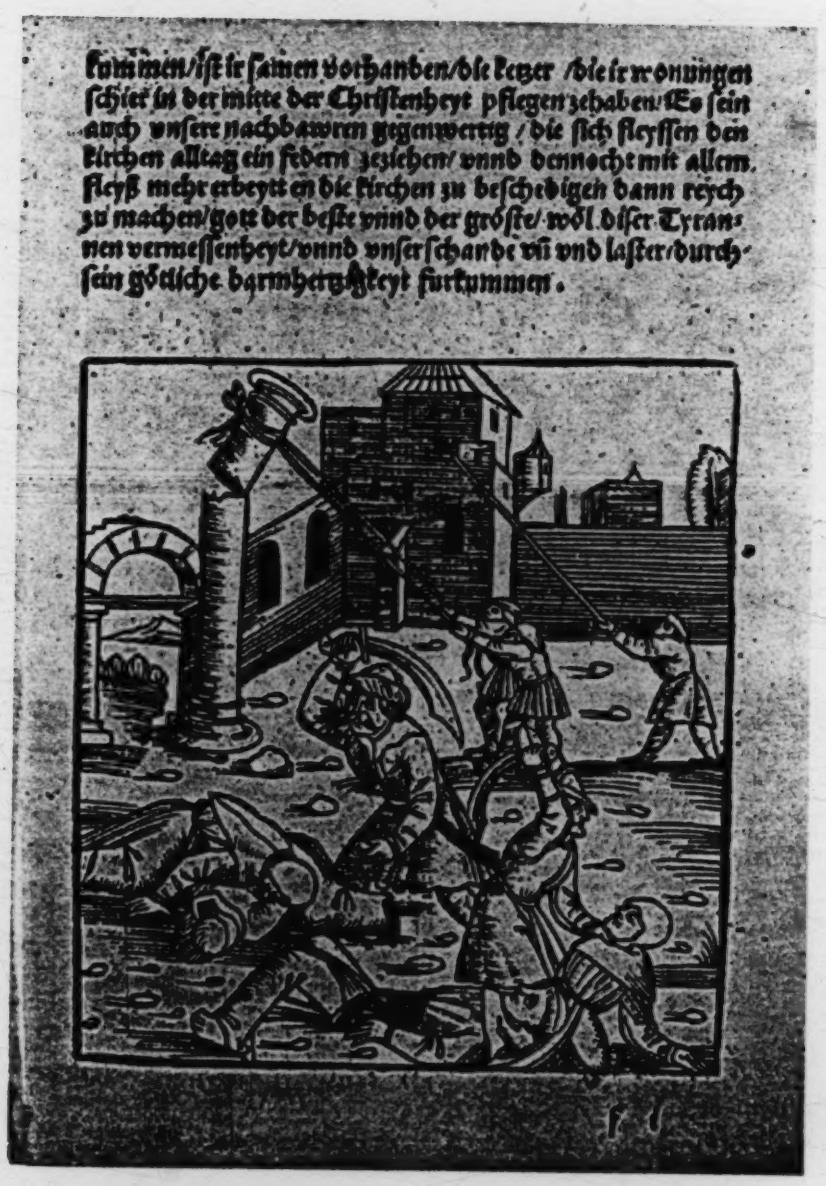

kummen/ist ir samen vorhanden/die ketzer/die ir wonungen
schier in der mitte der Christenheyt pflegen zehaben/Es sein
auch vnsere nachbawren gegenwertig/die sich fleyssen den
kirchen alltag ein federn zezichen/vnnd dennocht mit allem
fleyß mehr erbeytten die kirchen zu beschedigen dann reych
zu machen/gott der beste vnnd der gröste/wöl diser Tyran-
nen vermessenheyt/vnnd vnser schande vñ vnd laster/durch-
sein göttliche barmhertzigkeyt furkummen.

Figure 211
Anonymous, in Joseph Grünpeck, *Spiegel der naturlischen himlischen vnd prophetischen...*, 1522, n.p.

Das zwelfft Capittel von dem be
ſchluß der erſten trübſeligkeyten.
Darumb ſo dem alſo iſt / es begegnen vil offenbarlicher
zeychen am himel vnd auff erden / ſo vil ſcheinberlicher anzey
gungen der verenderunge / ſo tapffer zeugen der menſchliche
vnd göttlichen vorwiſſenheyt / ſo haben ſich vil der trübſelig
keyt zeyt lengſt angefange / darauß die warheyt vñ die gewiß
heyt der vorgeſagten ding mögen klerlichen abgenomen

**Figure 21m**

Anonymous, in Jòseph Grünpeck, *Spiegel der naturlischen himlischen vnd prophetischen...*, 1522, n.p.

LVCAE GAVRICI NEA-
politani Prognoſticō. Ab incarnatio
ne Chriſti. Anno Milleſimo quin-
genteſimo tertio, vſq; ad Trice
ſimum quintū valiturum.

Octoſtichon pium, ad lectorem.

Tempora iudicij iuſti, ſimul vltima mundi
Et licet errarint noſcere quotquot erant
Talia nāq; deū, nulli reſeraſſe beato
Vnq; teſtatur pagina ſacra palam,
Non tamen eſt dubiū, tacitis decreſcere mundum
Annis, ad calcem ſęcula quęq; trahi,
Heus igitur mortalis homo, tua crimina plange
Dum potes, extremus mors tua finis erit.

F V B

Figure 22
Anonymous, title page, Luca Gaurico, *Lvcae Gavrici neapolitani Prognostico*, 1522

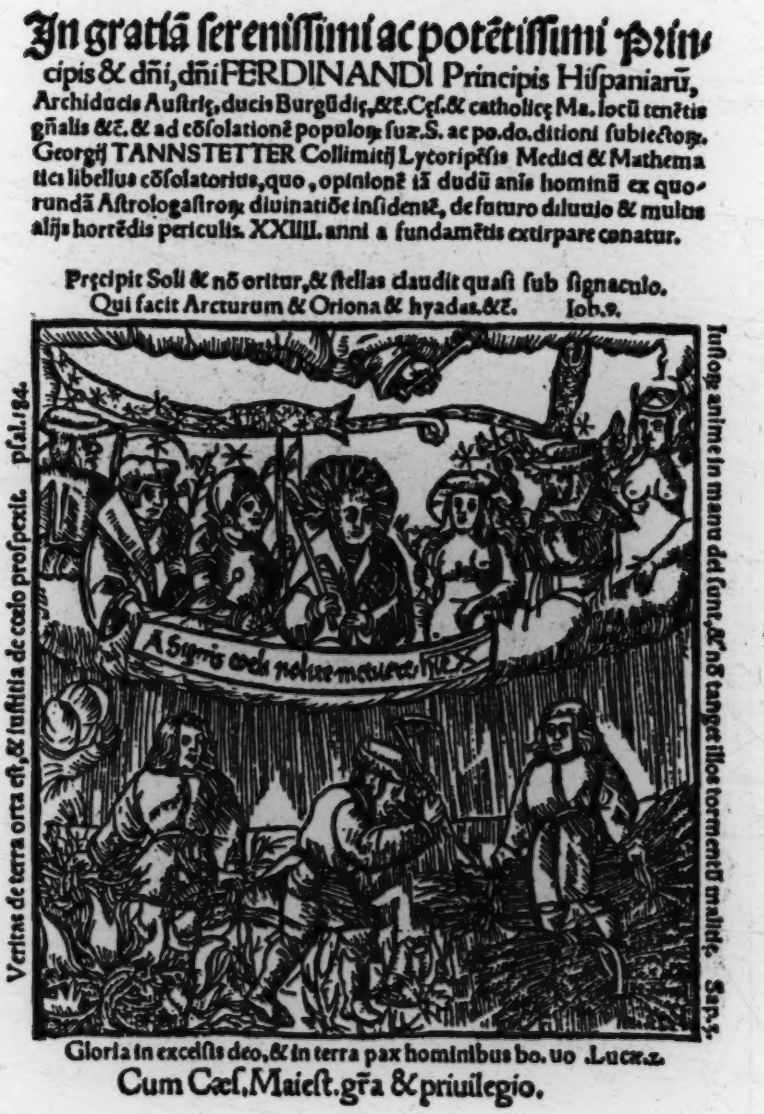

In gratiã ſereniſſimi ac potẽtiſſimi Prin-
cipis & dñi, dñi FERDINANDI Principis Hiſpaniarũ,
Archiducis Auſtriæ, ducis Burgũdiæ, &c. Cæſ. & catholicæ Ma. locũ tenẽtis
gñalis &c. & ad cõſolationẽ populoꝝ ſuæ. S. ac po. do. ditioni ſubiectoꝝ.
Georgij TANNSTETTER Collimitij Lycoripẽſis Medici & Mathema
tici libellus cõſolatorius, quo, opinionẽ iã dudũ anis hominũ ex quo-
rundã Aſtrologaſtroꝝ diuinatiõe inſidentẽ, de futuro diluuio & multis
alijs horrẽdis periculis. XXIIII. anni a fundamẽtis extirpare conatur.
Præcipit Soli & nõ oritur, & ſtellas claudit quaſi ſub ſignaculo.
Qui facit Arcturum & Orionа & hyadas. &c. Ioh. 9.
Veritas de terra orta eſt, & iuſtitia de cœlo proſpexit. pſal. 84.
Iuſtoꝝ animæ in manu dei ſunt, & nõ tanget illos tormentũ malitiæ. Sapi.
Gloria in excelſis deo, & in terra pax hominibus bo. uo Lucæ. 2.
Cum Cæſ. Maieſt. gr̃a & priuilegio.

Figure 23

Anonymous, title page, Georg Tannstetter, *In gratia serenissimi ac potetissimi principis & dni...*, 1523

Figure 24
Anonymous, title page, Johann Virdung, *Practica deutsch...*, 1522

Figure 25
Anonymous, title page illustration, Johann Virdung, *Practica deutsch...*, 1521

**Figure 26**
Anonymous, title page illustration, Johann Virdung, *Practica deutsch...*, 1523

Practica deutsch Doctoris Johannis
Copp auff das Tausentfunff
hundert vnd.xxij. Jare.
¶ Saturnus regirer Mars vnd Jupiter mich effen.
¶ Getruckt zu Leypzigk durch Wolffgang Stöckel

Figure 27
Anonymous, title page, Johannes Copp, *Practica deutsch...*, 1521

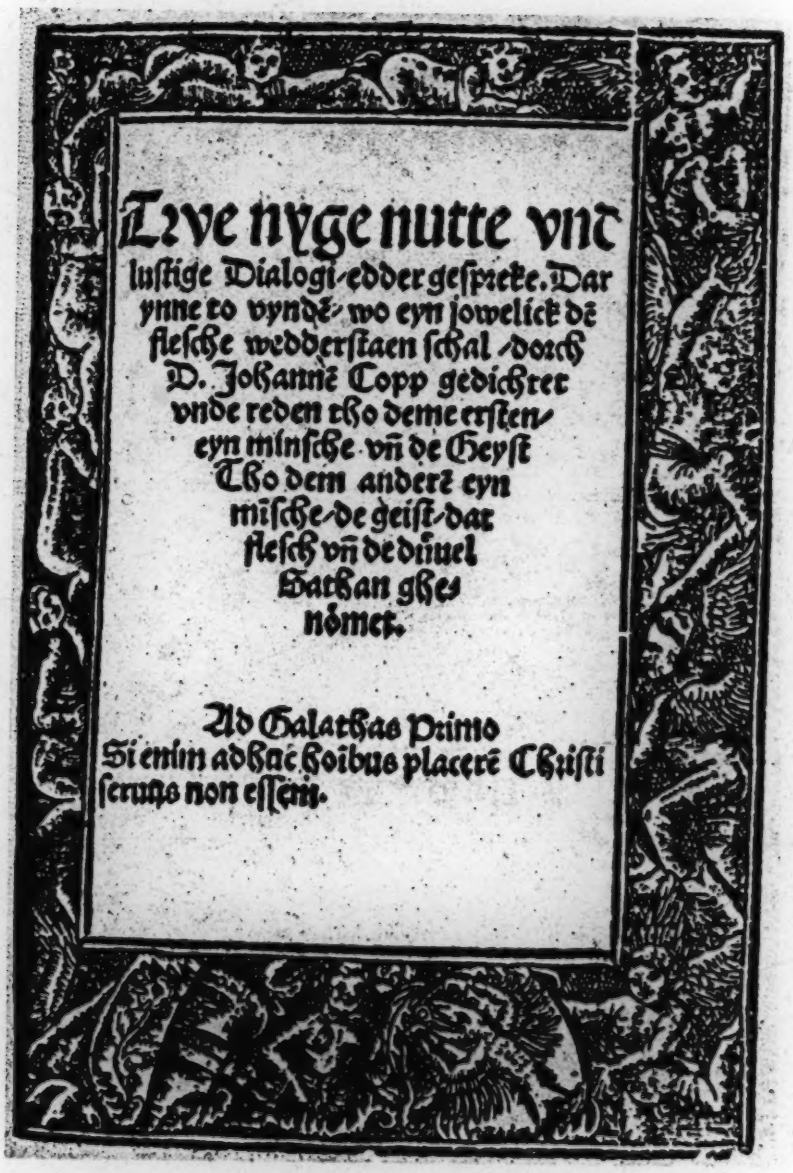

Twe nyge nutte vnd
lustige Dialogi edder gespreke. Dar
ynne to vynde wo eyn jowelick de
flesche wedderstaen schal / doch
D. Johanne Copp gedichtet
vnde reden tho deme ersten
eyn minsche vñ de Geyst
Tho dem andern eyn
mische de geist dat
flesch vñ de dinel
Sathan ghe
nomet.
Ad Galathas Primo
Si enim adhuc hoibus placere Christi
seruus non essem.

Figure 28

Anonymous, title page, Johannes Copp, *Twe nyge nutte vnd lustige Dialogi edder gespreke*, 1522

Was auff diß
Dreyundzwayntzigest vnd zum tail vyer
vndzwayntzigest jar. Des himels lauff tünnfftig sein
Auß weyß Doctoris Johannis Coppvntayl

**Figure 29a**

Anonymous, title page, Johannes Copp, *Was auff diß Dreyundzwayntzigest vnd zum tail vyer-vndzwayntzigest jar,* 1522

In mydern Ländern wonen/ Got wol zübitten haben daß es trew/
et in deshymels eynfluß wol ain halben Sindfluß/ wie wol eben
die so in hochen Ländern vnd auff hochen felsen wonen nit kan
on ain merklich gefär darvon komen mügen/ Denn es werden
grosse erdbydem/ donner vnd plitz regen/ wind vnd wolcken
brüch/ bedeütet auch so groß jamer vnnd not/ als noch in etlich
tausent Jaren nie gesehen ist. Sonst werden noch vil aspect der
öbersten planeten diß jars gesehen/ will aber von kürtze wegē die
selben anstan lan/ das ich besorg das vnser vil/ das selbig schwer
lich erleben werden/ wölchers aber erlebt möchte darnach ayn
bessere zeyt erfaren/ Darumb lieben brüder laß vns all für ain
ander fleyssig bitten. Auff das Got solchen jamer so es sein göt/
lich will ist von vns neme.

Figure 29b

Anonymous, in Johannes Copp, *Was auff diß Dreyundzwayntzigest vnd zum tail vyervndzwayntzigest jar,* 1522, n.p.

¶ Wir werdn im Glentz grosse kelt mit vberiger feuchtigkait erfarn / wie dz gestirn wayst wölch meins bedunckens den früchten grossen schaden zůfiegen wirt / wie wol Jupiter der gůtig mit seinem einfluß solchs lyndern wirt / Hab ich dennoche sorg / Weyn vnnd korn werden tewrer dañ es gewesen ist / Got machs nach seim gůtlichen willen.

¶ Das Glentz wie du gehört hast / wirt meins bedunckens kalt vnd feucht. ¶ Der Summer wirt nit anders / dañ wie gewonlich ist zů wyttern / Auß genomen das er ser winndig wirt vnd mit grossen pligen donnern / vnd haglen erscheynen.

¶ Der Herbst wayst das gestirn vast feucht vnd kalt künfftig sein / vñ den Winter werden wir mit grosser vngewonlicher kelt erfaren / Also hast du gehört das diß jar mer feücht vnd kalt dañ drucken vnd warm künfftig ist.

Figure 29c

Anonymous, in Johannes Copp, *Was auff diß Dreyundzwayntzigest vnd zum tail vyervndzwayntzigest jar,* 1522, n.p.

Figure 30
Anonymous, title page, Johannes Copp, *Was auff disz drey vnd zwayntzigist vnnd ztum teyl vier vnd zwayntzigist jar des hymmels lauff fünfftig seyn auszweysz*, 1522

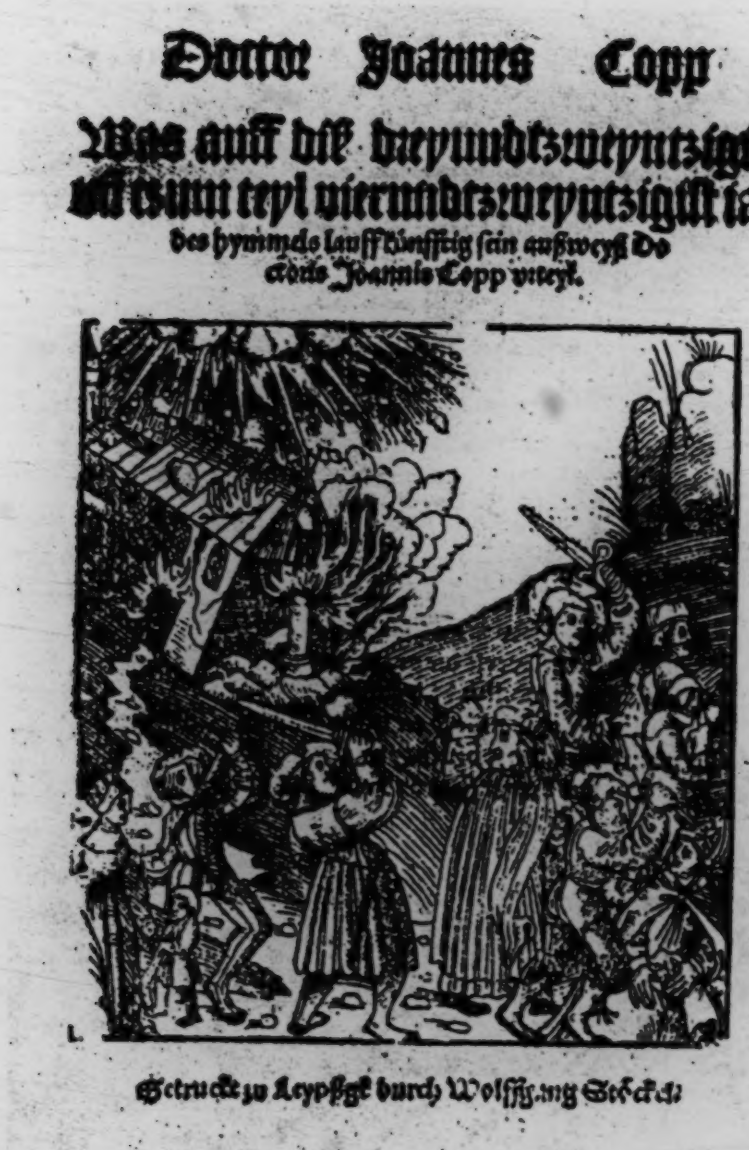

Doctor Joannes Copp
Was auff diß dreyundtzweyntzigist
vn tzum teyl vierundtzweyntzigist iar
des hymmels lauff künfftig sein außweyß Do
ctoris Joannis Copp vrteyl.
Getruckt zu Leypßgk durch Wolffg. mg Stöckel

Figure 31a

Anonymous, title page, Johannes Copp, *Doctor Johannes Copp Was auff diß dreyundtzweyntzigist vn tzum teyl vierundtzweyntzigist iar des hymmels lauff kunfftig sein außweyß Doctoris Joannis Copp vrteyl*, 1523

Figure 31b

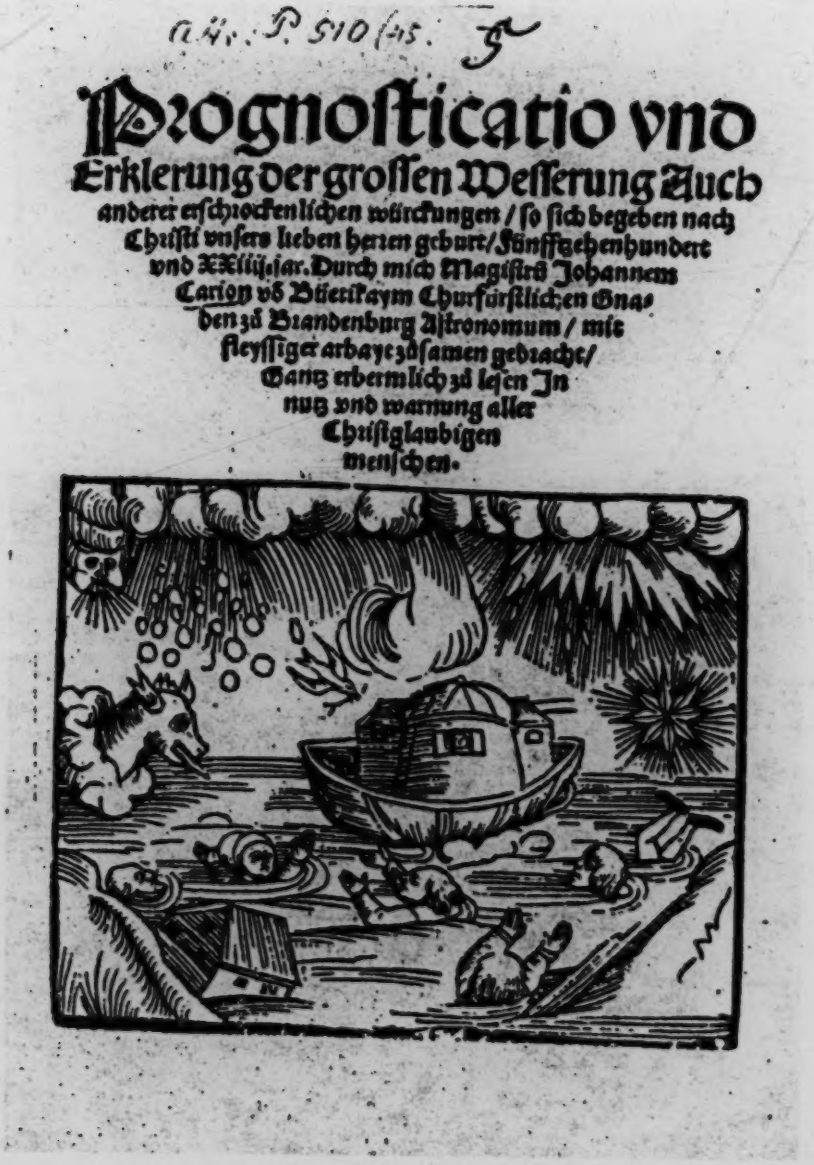
Anonymous, in Johannes Copp, *Doctor Johannes Copp Was auff diß dreyundtzweyntzigist vn tzum teyl vierundtzweyntzigist iar des hymmels lauff kunfftig sein außweyß Doctoris Joannis Copp vrteyl*, 1523, n.p.

ſchaden zufugen wirt/wiewol iupiter der götlig mit ſeine einfluß
ſöllichs lindern wirt hab ich dennoch ſorg weyn vnd korn werd
tewrer dann geweſen iſt/got machs nach ſeim gotlichen willen.
¶ Das Glentz wie du gehort haſt wirdt meins beduncken kalt
vnd feucht.
¶ Der Sommer wirt nit anders dann wie gewönlich iſt wittern
außgenömen das er ſeer windicht wirt vnd mit groſſen plitzen/
donnern/vnd haglen erſcheynen.
¶ Der Herbſt weyſt das geſtirn ſeer feucht vnd kalt kunfftig ſein
vff den Witer werdt wir mit groſſer vngewönlicher kelte erfarn.
Alſo haſtu gehort/ das diß iar mehr feucht vnd kalt dann trucken
vnd warm kunfftig iſt.

Figure 31c

Anonymous, in Johannes Copp, *Doctor Johannes Copp Was auff diß dreyundtzweyntzigist vn tzum teyl vierundtzweyntzigist iar des hymmels lauff kunfftig sein außweyß Doctoris Joannis Copp vrteyl*, 1523, n.p.

Figure 32
Anonymous, title page, Alexander Seitz, *Ain Warnung des Sündtfluss oder erschrockenlichen wassers Des xxiiij. jars...*, 1520



Prognosticatio vnd
Erklerung der grossen Wesserung Auch
anderer erschrockenlichen würckungen / so sich begeben nach
Christi vnsers lieben herren geburt / Fünffzehenhundert
vnd xxiij. jar. Durch mich Magistrū Johannem
Carion vō Bietikaym Churfürstlichen Gna-
den zū Brandenburg Astronomum / mit
fleyssiger arbaye zūsamen gebracht /
Gantz erbermlich zū lesen In
nutz vnd warnung aller
Christglaubigen
menschen.

Figure 33
Anonymous, title page, Johann Carion, *Prognosticatio vnd Erklerung der grossen Wesserung...*, 1522

Prognosticatio vnd Erklerung der grossen Wesserung: Auch anderer erschrockenlichen würchungen/ so sich begeb̃ nach Christi vnsers lieben hern geburt/ funffzehenhundert vñ.xxiiij. iar Durch mich Magistrũ Johannem Carion võ Bietikaym Churfurstlicher gnaden zu Brandenburg Astronomũ/ mit fleissiger arbeit zusamen gebracht/ Gantz erbermlich zulesen In nutz vnd warnung aller Christglaubigen menschen.

Getruckt zu Leypzigk durch Wolffgang Stöckel. 1522.

Figure 34

Anonymous, title page, Johann Carion, *Prognosticatio vnd Erklerung der grossen Wesserung...*, 1522

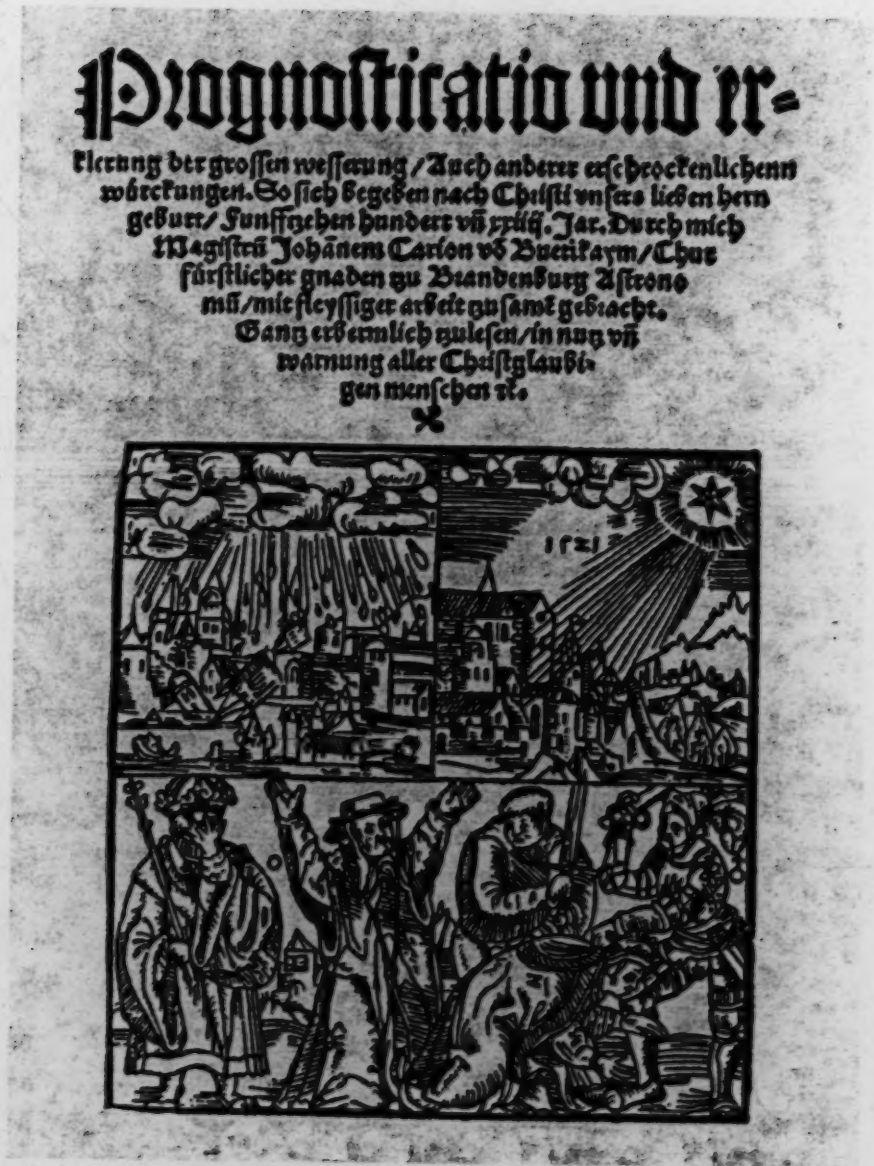

Prognosticatio vnd er-
klerung der grossen wesserung / Auch anderer erschrockenlichenn
würckungen. So sich begeben nach Christi vnsers liebenn hern
geburt / Funffzehen hundert vñ xxiij. Jar. Durch mich
Magistrū Johānem Carion vō Buetikaym / Chur
fürstlicher gnaden zu Brandenburg Astrono
mū / mit fleyssiger arbeit zusamt gebracht.
Ganz erbermlich zuleſen / in nutz vñ
warnung aller Christglaubi-
gen menschen ꝛc.
1521

Figure 35
Anonymous, title page, Johann Carion, *Prognosticatio vnd erklerung der grossen wesserung...*, 1521

Figure 36
Anonymous, *The Sow of Landser,* broadsheet with text by Sebastian Brant, 1496

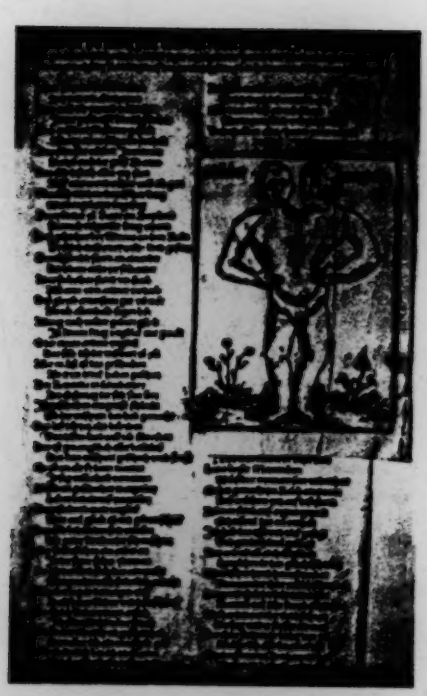


Figure 37a
Anonymous, *Birth of Siamese Twins,* broadsheet with text, 1512

Figure 37b
Reverse side of woodcut

Figure 38
Cranach Workshop, *The Papal Ass of Rome*, in Philipp Melanchthon and Martin Luther, *Deuttung der zwo grewlichen Figuren Bapstesels zu Rom vnd Munchkalbs zu Freyburg*, 1523, n.p.

Figure 39
Cranach Workshop, *The Monk Calf of Freyburg*, in Philipp Melanchthon and Martin Luther, *Deuttung der zwo grewlichen Figuren Bapstesels zu Rom vnd Munchkalbs zu Freyburg*, 1523, n.p.

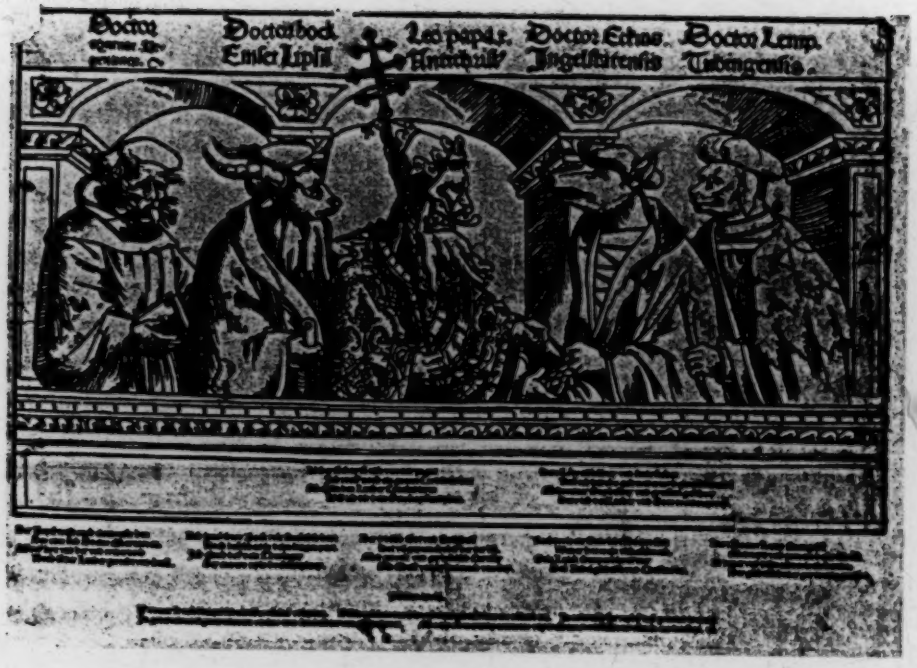



Figure 40
Anonymous, broadsheet with text, 1521

Figure 41

Anonymous, title page, *Eyn kurtze anred zu allen missgünstigen Doctor Luthrs und der Christenlichen freyheit,* 1522

Figure 42
Anonymous, broadsheet with text, early 1520's

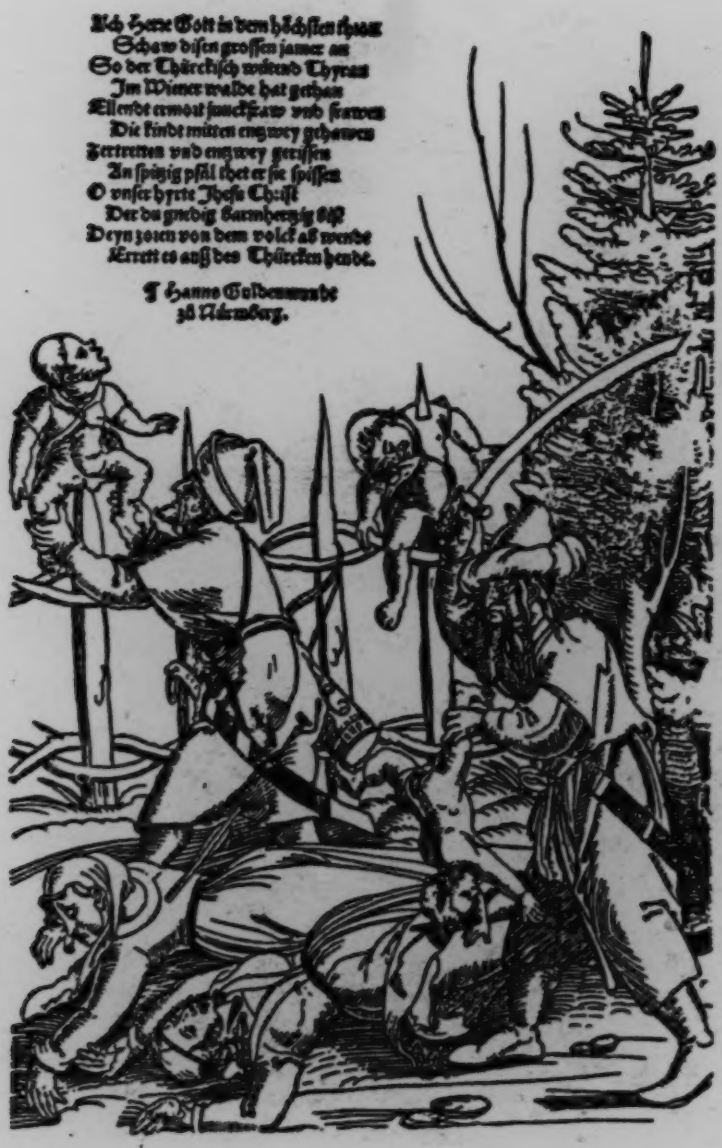

Ach Herre Gott in dem höchsten thron
Schaw disen grossen jamer an
So der Thürckisch wütend Tyrann
Im Wiener walde hat gethan
Ellende armut jamckſtraw vnd frawen
Die kindt mitten entzwey gehawen
Zertretten vnd entzwey gerissen
An spitzig pfäl thet er sie spiessen
O vnser hyrte Jhesu Christ
Der du gnedig barmhertzig bist
Deyn zoren von dem volck ab wende
Errett es auß des Thürcken hende.
Hanns Guldenmundt
zů Nürmberg.

Figure 43
Erhard Schön, *Turkish Atrocities*, 1530

Figure 44a
Anonymous, title page, Johann Carion, *Bedeütnus vn offenbarung warer himlischer Influxion...*, 1526

Figure 44b
Anonymous, in Johann Carion, *Bedeütnus vn offenbarung warer himlischer Influxion...*, 1526, n.p.

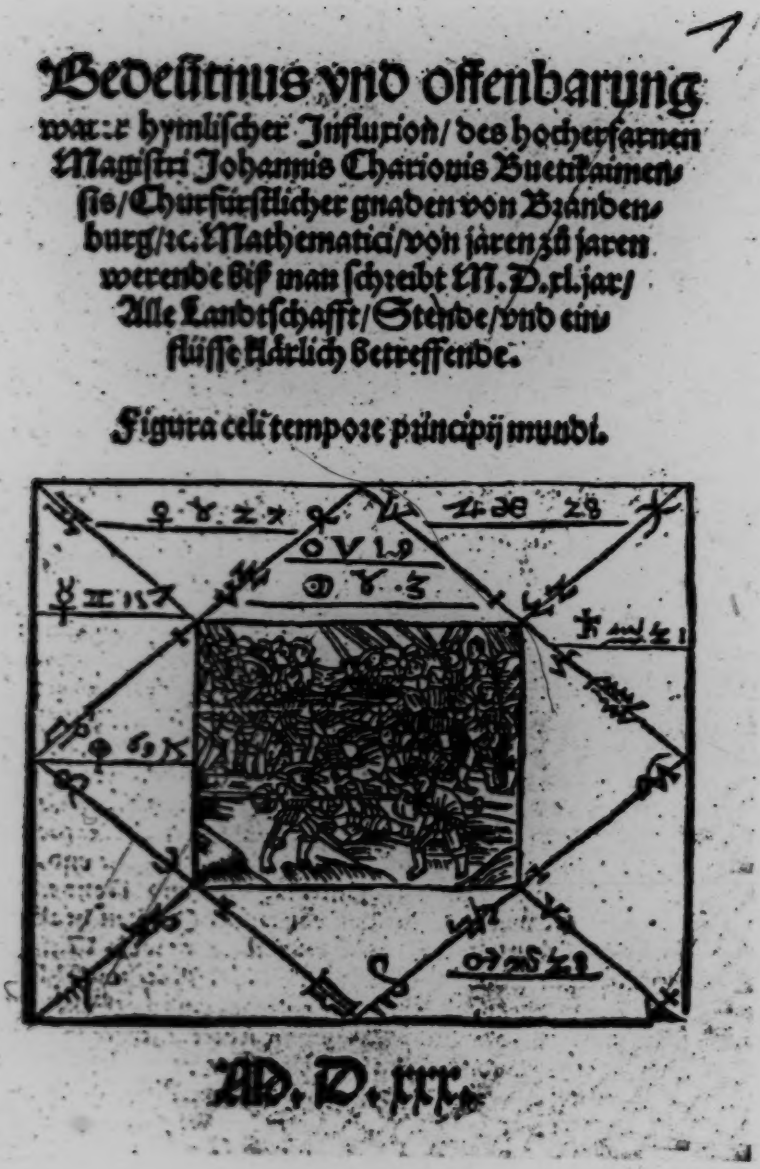

Bedeütnus vnd offenbarung
warer hymlischer Influxion/ des hocherfarnen
Magistri Johannis Chariovis Buetikaimen-
sis/Churfürstlicher gnaden von Brandenburg/ꝛc. Mathematici/von jaren zů jaren
werende biß man schreibt M. D. xl. jar/
Alle Landtschafft/Stende/vnd einflüsse klärlich betreffende.
Figura celi tempore principij mundi.
AD. D. xxx.

Figure 45
Anonymous, title page, Johann Carion, *Bedeütnus vnd offenbarung warer hymlischer Influxion...*, 1530

Practica deützsch/des würdigen hochge-
lerten vnd weytberümpten Doctor Johansen Virdūgs vō Haß
fürt/auff das.M.CCCCC.vnd.XXXI.jare.gemacht zu Eren
dem durchleüchtigsten hochgebornen Fürsten vnd herren.Herrn
Lüdwigen.Pfaltzgrauen by Rhein.Hertzogen inn Beyern/des
heiligen Römischen reichs Ertzdruchsessen vnd Churfürsten ꝛc.
Jacob. Schmydt.

Figure 46

Anonymous, title page, Johann Virdung, *Practica deütsch*, 1530

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Carion, Johannes. Bedeütnus vnd offenbarung warer hymlischer Influxion des hocherfarnen Magistri Johannis Charionis Buetikaimensis Churfürstlicher gnaden von Brandenburg &c. Mathematici von jaren z[u] jaren werende biß man schreibt M.D.xl. jar Alle Landtschafft Stende vnd einflüsse kla[e]rlich betreffende. Figura celi tempore principij mundi. Nuremberg: Kunigunde Hergot or Georg Wachter 1530. In Flugschriften des Frühen 16. Jahrhunderts auf Microfiches. H.J. Köhler, H. Hebenstreit and C. Weismann eds. Zug: Inter Documentation Company, 1978. Microfiche.

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